Different cultures, different selves?

Huwaë, Sylvia

Publication date:
2017

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Different cultures, different selves?

Suppression of emotions and reactions to transgressions across cultures

Sylvia Huwaë

Different Cultures, Different Selves?

Suppression of Emotions and Reactions to Transgressions across Cultures

Sylvia Huwaë

Different cultures, different selves?
Suppression of emotions and reactions to transgressions across cultures

Sylvia Huwaë
PhD Thesis
Tilburg University, 2017

TiCC PhD Series No. 56

ISBN/ 9789462957053 EAN 9789462957053
Layout and printing: ProefschriftMaken | www.proefschriftmaken.nl
Cover design: Robin Janssen

Financial support: the Province of Noord-Brabant and Tilburg University

Different Cultures, Different Selves?

Suppression of Emotions and Reactions to Transgressions across Cultures

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan Tilburg University
op gezag van de rector magnificus,
prof.dr. E.H.L. Aarts,
in het openbaar te verdedigen ten overstaan van
een door het college voor promoties aangewezen commissie
in de aula van de Universiteit
op woensdag 11 oktober 2017 om 16.00 uur

door

Zeilpa Naemma Huwaë

geboren te Middelburg

Promotores
Prof. Dr. Emiel Krahmer
Prof. Dr. Juliette Schaafsma

Promotiecommissie
Dr. Marjolijn Antheunis
Dr. Johan Karremans
Prof. Dr. Fons Maes
Prof. Dr. Karen Phalet
Prof. Dr. Fons van de Vijver

CONTENTS

Chapter 1

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

In our everyday lives, we regularly communicate with people at home, at work, at school, or in public places such as shops or restaurants. These interactions can elicit positive emotions (e.g., when we receive a compliment) or negative ones (e.g., when people criticize us, treat us unfairly or when they violate important social norms). People differ in how they respond to such situations. For example, when treated unfairly by someone, some people may experience anger because it negatively affects their feelings of self-worth (e.g., Koper, Van Knippenberg, Bouhuijs, Vermunt, & Wilke, 1993). They may express this anger and find it difficult to forgive the person who offended them. Others, however, may suppress this negative feeling and forgive the offender because they want to maintain a good relationship with this person. These variations in how people experience, appraise and respond to the same situation can - at least in part - be explained by their cultural background (e.g., Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa, 2006; Matsumoto, Takeuchi, Andayani, Kouznetsova, & Krupp, 1998; Mesquita & Ellsworth, 2001). This dissertation examines cross-cultural differences in how people respond to various everyday situations, ranging from the extent to which they regulate their emotions in their interactions with others, to their responses to situations in which they are being treated unfairly or in which social norms are violated.

One of the most widely used frameworks to understand cross-cultural differences in how people feel, think and respond when they interact with others is perhaps that of individualism-collectivism (for reviews see Kagitcibasi, 1997; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). Individualism involves cultures in which ties between individuals are relatively loose and the interests of the individual often prevail over the interests of the group (e.g., the United States of America or the Netherlands). Collectivism, by contrast, refers to cultures in which people are integrated into strong cohesive groups and the interests of the groups generally prevail over the interests of the individual (e.g., Indonesia or China) (Triandis, 1995).

A central tenet of the individualism-collectivism framework (or IC framework) is that in cultures that are more individualistic, people view themselves as relatively independent from others (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995). According to the framework, people in such cultures are encouraged to discover and express their unique attributes. Thus, their behaviors should reflect their own thoughts and feelings. They are also expected to experience and express emotions that are more ego-focused (e.g., anger, frustration, pride) and to prioritize their own goals and well-being (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995). Conversely, people from more collectivistic cultures should have a stronger tendency

to view themselves as interdependent or connected with social groups, such as their family or community (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis 1995). It is generally assumed that they focus on maintaining good relationships with others and tend to be sensitive to what others feel, think or expect from them. As such, they should experience more other-focused emotions (e.g., sympathy, shame) as compared to people from individualistic cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). It has also been argued that this concern for others may trigger them to suppress their emotions, because they want to maintain harmonious relationships or prevent that others are being hurt (e.g., Chiang, 2012). Thus, compared to those from individualistic cultures, people from collectivistic cultures are expected to prioritize the well-being of their social group over their own well-being (e.g., Triandis, 1995).

By now, a wealth of studies have used the individualism-collectivism distinction as a primary framework to explain cross-cultural differences in how people feel, think and behave in a variety of situations. Despite the popularity of this framework, however, there has also been much debate among researchers about some of its prime assumptions and its usefulness as a universal model (e.g., Schwartz, 1990; Voronov & Singer, 2002). For example, some researchers have questioned the conceptualization of individualism and collectivism as each other's opposite, and have stated that people across cultures can hold both individualistic and collectivistic values (e.g., Deci & Ryan, 2000; Killen & Wainryb, 2000; Neff, Brabeck, & Kearney, 2006). In addition, several studies have challenged the idea that people who belong to individualistic cultures are by definition more self-oriented and that those from collectivistic cultures are more other-oriented (e.g., Fischer & Schwartz, 2011; Imamoğlu, 1998). For example, in their meta-analysis of individualism-collectivism differences, Oyserman and colleagues (2002) found that people in the US (who are generally considered to be more individualistic) scored higher on feelings of belonging and enjoyment of group membership than people in Hong Kong and Japan (who are generally considered to be more collectivistic). In a similar vein, these researchers found that people in Indonesia (a country that is considered to be collectivistic) did not score reliably different from those in the US on an individualism scale. Furthermore, a large-scale cross-national survey conducted by Vignoles and colleagues (2016) revealed that - although Western samples (from the US and New Zealand) valued being different from others - they also valued commitment to others. Along similar lines, these researchers found that Sub-Saharan African samples (e.g., Uganda and Namibia) valued being similar to others, but that they also valued putting the interest of the self first (e.g., personal success). On the basis of these findings, Vignoles and colleagues suggest that 'it is not useful to characterize any culture

as "independent" or "interdependent" in a general sense' (p. 991). They argue that 'future researchers should seek to identify which forms of independence and which forms of interdependence prevail in different contexts, in order to theorize and test potential explanations and implications of the patterns that they find' (p. 991).

In line with this view, researchers have begun to consider the possibility that the extent to which people from individualistic and collectivistic cultures tend to focus on the self or on others may depend on the circumstances in which they find themselves and on their relationship with those who are present, such as close others (e.g., friends) or non-close others (e.g., strangers) (e.g., Coşkan, Phalet, Güngor, and Mesquita, 2016; English & Chen, 2007; Suh, 2000). For example, it is possible that - depending on who the interaction partners are - people from collectivistic cultures can be oriented toward the self too, and that those who belong to individualistic cultures can be oriented toward others as well. Support for this idea comes from a study by Coşkan, Phalet, Güngor, and Mesquita (2016), in which they asked Belgian (who are considered individualistic) and Turkish (who are considered collectivistic) youth to describe themselves in terms of being autonomous (and hence more self-oriented) or related (and hence more other-oriented) in their relationship with their mother (a close other) or their teacher (a non-close other). They found that Belgians and Turks differed in how autonomous or related they felt with their teachers, but not with their mother. These results suggest that differences between individualistic and collectivistic cultures may not be as clear-cut as is often suggested in cross-cultural research (for a discussion see Kağitçibaşi, 2005; Matsumoto, 1999; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008).

This dissertation aims to contribute to current discussions on the explanatory value of the IC framework, by examining how cross-cultural differences in individualistic and collectivistic values are manifested in a variety of social situations. More specifically, we are interested in whether, when, and to what extent the reactions of people from individualistic cultures and collectivistic cultures in these situations are in line with predictions made by the IC framework. For this, we use a combination of methods including a daily diary study, an experiment, a scenario study and a recall study. Our samples include participants with Dutch, Chinese and Indonesian backgrounds. To examine whether cross-cultural differences in response to a variety of interactive situations also depends on the societal context in which people with collectivistic backgrounds have been raised, we also conduct two studies with descendants from Indonesian immigrants (in particular Moluccans) in the Netherlands.

Given that it is generally believed that in collectivistic cultures people are encouraged to suppress their feelings more than in individualistic cultures (e.g.,

Butler, Lee, & Gross, 2007; Markus & Kitayama, 1991), we first focus on how people with individualistic backgrounds (Dutch) and collectivistic backgrounds (Chinese, Indonesian) regulate their emotions in their everyday interactions. We will also assess whether this depends on who the other person is: a close other or a non-close other. We then move on to examine the emotional responses of people from individualistic cultures and collectivistic cultures when they are treated unfairly by others. Given that people from individualistic cultures are generally assumed to be more self-oriented and that people from collectivistic cultures should be more group-oriented, we are particularly interested in how they respond emotionally in a situation in which injustice targets them personally or as a group. When people experience negative emotions such as anger following injustice, they may want to suppress these feelings and forgive the offender to maintain a harmonious relationship with this person or to find inner peace for themselves (e.g., Ho & Fung, 2011). In two studies we investigate cultural differences in people's motives to (not) forgive an offender (a close other or non-close other) in different situations (i.e., following an interpersonal transgression and following an ingroup transgression) and whether these motives reflect a stronger concern toward the self or toward others.

Cross-cultural differences in emotion regulation during everyday interactions

A first goal of this dissertation is to examine whether people with individualistic or collectivistic backgrounds differ in how they regulate their emotions in their everyday interactions and whether this depends on how close they are with their interaction partners. People usually regulate their emotions during their interactions with others to reach positive outcomes such as establishing or maintaining relationships, or to avoid negative outcomes such as conflict or rejection (e.g., Elliot, 2008; Roseman, 2008). For instance, when people experience negative emotions such as irritation during social interactions, they may suppress these emotions because they may negatively affect their relationships with others. Yet, when people experience positive emotions such as joy during social interactions, they may want to share this with others and hence suppress these emotions less.

It is generally believed that the extent to which people regulate their emotions varies as a function of the cultural context in which they live (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Matsumoto, Yoo, & Nakagawa, 2008). According to several researchers, people in collectivistic cultures are likely to suppress negative emotions (e.g., anger) and positive emotions (e.g., self-pride) because they tend to be more concerned about not hurting other people's feelings and also want to maintain harmonious relationships with them (e.g., Butler et al., 2007; Chiang, 2012; English & John, 2013; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Conversely, it has been

argued that people in individualistic cultures are less likely to suppress their emotions during their interactions with others since by expressing how they feel, they can affirm their independence and self-worth (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Nevertheless, the extent to which people from individualistic and collectivistic cultures regulate their emotions during everyday interactions is still poorly understood and many of the cross-cultural studies that have been done so far have been conducted in laboratory settings (e.g., Butler et al., 2007) or by means of surveys (e.g., Haga, Kraft, & Corby, 2009). Although such studies are valuable, they may not capture how people from different cultures regulate their emotions in their daily lives, in which they interact in different situations and with different people (e.g., close others such as family members and non-close others such as strangers). This calls for studies that are able to take this complexity into account. Therefore, in this study we will use a daily diary method, where people with individualistic or collectivistic backgrounds report for a period of two weeks the positive and negative emotions they experienced during their day-to-day social interactions, and the extent to which they suppressed these emotions. This allows us to assess across various interactive situations whether people from collectivistic cultures indeed engage in more emotion suppression than people from individualistic cultures, and whether or not this depends on their relationship with their interaction partners.

Cross-cultural differences in emotional reactions to injustice

A second goal of this dissertation is to examine cross-cultural differences in how people respond emotionally when they perceive injustice, and whether this depends on whether the injustice affects them personally or affects the group of which they are a member. Researchers have argued that people care about justice because it serves important psychological needs such as the need for control, the need to belong, and the need for a positive self-regard (Cropanzano, Byrne, Bobocel, & Rupp, 2001).

It has been asserted that people's concern about justice is universal, but that their responses to injustice may vary as a function of whether they define themselves as more independent (which should prevail in individualistic cultures) or more interdependent (which should be more common in collectivistic cultures (e.g., Brockner, Chen, Mannix, Leung, & Skarlicki, 2000; Van Prooijen & Zwenk, 2009). Some researchers have made the case that people with more independent selves should respond more strongly to (un)fairness than those with more interdependent selves because the outcomes (e.g., esteem, respect) that are associated with such procedures validate their individual characteristics and abilities (e.g., Van Prooijen & Zwenk, 2009). Others researchers have taken an opposite view,

however, and have argued that people with more interdependent selves should respond more strongly to (un)fairness because such procedures convey a message about their relationship with others and hence are relevant for their interdependent (or social) self (e.g., Brockner et al., 2000; Brockner, De Cremer, Van den Bos, & Chen, 2005; De Cremer & Tyler, 2005a).

At present, however, it is still unclear whether responses to procedural injustice also vary across cultures that are more individualistic (and hence value independence) or more collectivistic (and hence value interdependence). Most studies that have examined relationships between people's self-definition and reactions to injustice have been conducted within a single culture. In these studies, researchers have activated people's independent or interdependent self by using priming techniques (e.g., Van den Bos, Miedema, Vermunt, & Zwenk, 2011; Van Prooijen & Zwenk, 2009). As a result, we do not know whether people's responses to injustice also varies as a function of whether they are from more individualistic or collectivistic backgrounds.

In this dissertation we will try to fill this gap by examining whether people with individualistic backgrounds (Dutch) differ from those with collectivistic backgrounds (Chinese) in their emotional responses to injustice. We will also examine whether this varies as a function of whether the injustice targets them as an individual or as a group. We do so because previous research has primarily focused on injustice that targets individuals whereas there are many instances of injustice that target people as a collective, such as not being accepted because of one's ethnic background or being paid less because of gender (e.g., Licea, 2013; Schaafsma, 2008; Schaafsma, 2011).

Cross-cultural differences in motives to (not) forgive following interpersonal and ingroup transgressions

A third goal of this dissertation is to examine whether people who live in individualistic cultures differ from those in collectivistic cultures in their motives to (not) forgive people who have offended them or who have violated an important social norm. In the last years, researchers have begun to explore people's motives to forgive (e.g., McCullough, Pargament, & Thoresen, 2000; Exline, Worthington, Hill, & McCullough, 2003). This research shows that people can have different motives to forgive those who have hurt or offended them: they can do so out of concern for the self (self-focused motives), out of concern for the offender (offender-focused motives) or out of concern for their relationship with the offender (relationship motives) (Finkel, Rusbult, Kumashiro, & Hannon, 2002; Strelan & Covic, 2006; Strelan, et al., 2013).

Researchers have asserted that the relative importance of these motives may differ between people from individualistic and collectivistic cultures (e.g., Hook et al., 2013; Sandage & Wiens, 2001). More specifically, they have argued that in individualistic cultures people should be more motivated to forgive out of concern for the self (e.g., restoring one's own well-being) and that in collectivistic cultures people should be more motivated to forgive out of concern for the offender or their relationship with this person.

Currently, however, there is a dearth of knowledge on cross-cultural differences in people's motives to forgive. The few studies that have compared forgiveness motives across cultures (e.g., Ballester, Chatri, Sastre, Rivière, & Mullet, 2011; Suwartono, Prawasti, & Mullet, 2007) have not compared the relative importance of motives that involve the self and motives that involve others (the offender and the relationship) within cultures. These studies also paint a mixed picture, by showing that relationship motives to forgive may also be important in individualistic cultures and that self-focused motives can be important in collectivistic cultures as well (e.g., Strelan et al., 2013; Takada & Ohbuchi, 2004).

In this dissertation we will try to gain more insight into people's motives to forgive and whether such motives differ or are similar across and within cultures. In doing so, we will not only focus on forgiveness motives following interpersonal transgressions, but also following transgressions that occur within groups. We do so because research on forgiveness has generally examined motives from an intrapersonal or interpersonal perspective and less from an ingroup perspective. Nevertheless, transgressions may also occur at the group level, such as when ingroup members violate important group norms. In such a situation, concerns about the group (e.g., protection of group values and group harmony) may become important as well. To assess this, we also focus on motives that concern the welfare of the group (so-called group motives), in addition to motives that focus on the self, the offender and the relationship, and we examine whether such group motives are more important in collectivistic than in individualistic settings.

OVERVIEW OF THE PRESENT DISSERTATION

In the following chapters we report four studies. In Chapter 2, we examine how people with different cultural backgrounds regulate their emotions in their daily encounters with other people. More specifically, we examine whether people from collectivistic backgrounds are indeed more likely to suppress positive and negative emotions during their everyday interactions than those with individualistic backgrounds and whether this also depends on their relationship (i.e., close or

non-close) with the interaction partners. For this purpose, we use a daily social interaction method, developed by Wheeler & Nezlek (1977). The sample consists of Dutch students, Chinese exchange students in the Netherlands, and descendants of Moluccan immigrants in the Netherlands (who are also students). We include a Dutch Moluccan sample to examine whether emotion regulation may be different when people from collectivistic backgrounds have grown up in a culture that is more individualistic.

Chapter 3 examines how people with individualistic and collectivistic backgrounds respond emotionally to injustice. We are particularly interested in whether people from collectivistic cultures respond more negatively (i.e., feelings of anger and disappointment) to injustice that targets them as a group, and whether those from individualistic cultures respond more negatively when injustice targets them individually. For this, we conduct a laboratory experiment with Dutch and Chinese exchange students, in which injustice is manipulated by depriving participants (personally or as a group) of a monetary reward.

In Chapter 4, we focus on people's motives to forgive following an interpersonal conflict. We are interested in whether people who live in a more collectivistic culture (the Moluccan islands, Indonesia) attach more importance to motives that involve a concern for others (relationship, offender) and whether those who live in a more individualistic culture (the Netherlands) attach more importance to motives that involve concerns for the self. We also investigate whether the endorsement of these forgiveness motives depends on whether the offender is a close or a non-close other. To this end, participants are asked to think about a conflict that they had with someone (either a close other or a non-close other) and to indicate how important various forgiveness motives (involving concerns about the relationship, the offender and the self) are to them.

Chapter 5 concentrates on people's motives to (not) forgive ingroup deviants following the violation of an important group norm. We are particularly interested in whether concerns about the group may also be important in such a situation (in addition to motives that involve the self, the offender and the relationship) and whether this varies as a function of whether people live in cultural settings that are more individualistic or collectivistic. The sample in this study consist of members of an intervillage alliance, called 'pela', in Indonesia. They live either in Indonesia (a more collectivistic setting) or in the Netherlands (a more individualistic setting). In this study, we ask participants to put themselves in a hypothetical situation where someone (a close other or a non-close other) violates an important norm of pela.

Finally, in Chapter 6 we summarize the results and discuss the findings and limitations of this research.

Chapter 2

Cross-cultural differences in emotion suppression in everyday interactions

This chapter is based on:

Huwaë, S., & Schaafsma, J.(2016). Cross-cultural differences in emotion suppression in everyday interactions. *International Journal of Psychology*. DOI: 10.1002/ijop.12283.

INTRODUCTION

In everyday life, when people feel sad, they may try to hide this by putting on a happy face. Or, when they feel happy, they may try to hide their smile and keep a straight face instead. When people try not to show their emotions, emotion suppression occurs (Gross, Richards, & John, 2006). The extent to which people suppress their emotions may be influenced by their cultural background (e.g., Matsumoto, Takeuchi, Andayani, Kouznetsova, &Krupp, 1998). For example, it has been argued that emotion suppression may vary as a function of whether people are from a more collectivistic or individualistic culture (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

According to several authors, emotion suppression is more likely to occur in collectivistic than in individualistic cultures because mutual obligations and harmonious relationships with ingroup members are generally emphasized in such cultures (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991). For example, it has been argued that people in collectivistic cultures tend to find values such as interdependence and obligation to group members important and tend to focus on what others feel, think and want (e.g., Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988; Singelis, 1994). It has also been suggested that because of this, people from collectivistic cultures may want to suppress positive (e.g., self-pride) or negative emotions (e.g., irritation) so that others are not hurt and harmonious relationships are preserved (e.g., Chiang, 2012). In individualistic cultures, however, independence and autonomy are generally valued and the emphasis appears to be more on being different from others than on obligation to and harmony with others (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991). It has been argued that in such settings, being open and expressing one's feelings -- positive and negative -- may be important, because this is a way in which people can affirm their self-worth (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

By now, there is some empirical evidence that indeed supports the idea that emotion suppression is more likely to occur among people with collectivistic backgrounds than among people with individualistic backgrounds (e.g., Gross et al., 2006). For example, studies in the United States have found that Asian Americans suppress their emotions more than European Americans (e.g., Eng, 2012). In addition, English and John (2013) found in a sample of Chinese and US participants that the former used more emotion suppression than the latter. Nevertheless, most of the studies on cross-cultural differences in emotion regulation have been conducted in laboratory settings or have relied on surveys. Although valuable, such studies may not adequately capture how people regulate their emotions in their everyday lives because they ignore the social context in

which people interact and are also prone to various biases (e.g., recall biases; see Nezlek & Kuppens, 2008).

The aim of the present study is to address this and to examine how people with collectivistic and individualistic backgrounds regulate their emotions in their everyday interactions, by using a daily diary method. More specifically, we investigated whether members of collectivistic cultures are more likely than members of individualistic cultures to suppress positive and negative emotions in their interactions with others. We also examined whether people's tendency to suppress emotions varies as a function of whether they interact with close or non-close others. We did so because there is reason to believe that -- although people from collectivistic cultures may be prone to suppress their emotions -- they may be less likely to do so (particularly positive emotions) in interactions with close others than with non-close others. For example, research by Matsumoto (1990) suggests that in a collectivistic culture such as Japan, people may find it more appropriate to express positive emotions (e.g., happiness) and to suppress negative emotions (e.g., disgust) with ingroup members (e.g., family) than with out-group members (e.g., casual acquaintances). A possible reason for this is that in collectivistic cultures, people tend to be relatively dependent upon a stable ingroup. These ingroups can be very demanding and generally require a considerable degree of harmony and cohesion (e.g., Triandis et al., 1988). Thus, when people from collectivistic cultures interact with people who belong to their inner circle, they may be motivated to express their positive emotions because such feelings can foster a degree of connectedness and harmony (Uchida & Kitayama, 2009).

In individualistic cultures, however, people tend to rely less on one stable ingroup and they are more likely to be dependent on and form attachments with relative strangers (e.g., Schug, Yuki, & Maddux, 2010). Although people from individualistic cultures may generally suppress emotions less, this relative dependence on strangers may motivate them to regulate their emotions (and negative emotions in particular) with non-close others. In this way, they can prevent negative interactions and build up and maintain positive relationships with them. Preliminary support for this idea comes from a study by Matsumoto (1990), who found that Americans generally considered it less appropriate than Japanese to express negative emotions such as anger towards out-groups. In a similar vein, Matsumoto et al. (1998) found that Americans tend to regulate negative emotions more towards strangers than towards family members.

To examine whether there are such cross-cultural differences in how people suppress their emotions in their everyday interactions, we conducted a daily social interaction study among Dutch, Chinese and Moluccans in the Netherlands. Dutch participants were students who were born and raised in the Netherlands,

which is generally considered an individualistic culture (Hofstede, 2001). Chinese participants were exchange students who had been living in the Netherlands for an average of a year. They were all born and raised in China, which is commonly regarded as a collectivistic culture. Moluccan participants were students who were born and raised in the Netherlands. Their parents or grandparents immigrated from the archipelago "the Moluccas" in Indonesia (a former Dutch colony) to the Netherlands in 1951 or 1962 (Tunjanan, 2008). Most of the Moluccan immigrants have lived as a close community in so-called Moluccan residential areas. Some still live there, whereas others have moved to a Dutch neighborhood. Their culture is generally considered collectivistic, which manifests itself in a strong emphasis on family ties and mutual assistance (Rinsampessy, 1992).We included Moluccans in our sample because little attention has been given to the possibility that emotion regulation may change when people have moved to or have grown up in a different culture (De Leersnyder, Mesquita, & Kim, 2011). For example, Eng (2012) found that the longer Asian Americans had lived in the United States, the less likely they were to suppress their emotions. For this reason, we expect that people from collectivistic backgrounds are less likely to suppress their emotions when they have lived most of their lives in an individualistic setting, as compared to those who were born and raised in a collectivistic setting.

METHOD

Participants

The initial sample of this diary study consisted of 80 Dutch (N = 32), Chinese (N = 25), and Moluccan (N = 23) students from a Dutch university or a Dutch school for higher professional education. They were recruited via a subject pool, social networks or social media and received course credits or €20 for participating in this study. Dutch and Moluccan participants were born and raised in the Netherlands. Chinese participants were exchange students who were born and raised in China.

After inspection of their data, five Chinese and four Moluccan participants were excluded from the analyses as they failed to complete questionnaires or registered less than a total of four interactions. The final sample consisted of 32 persons of Dutch origin (24 women; M_{age} = 21.00, SD = 1.80), 19 persons of Moluccan origin (14 women; M_{age} = 24.63, SD = 2.67) and 20 persons of Chinese origin (14 women; M_{age} = 23.60, SD = 2.09). Unfortunately, we were unable to find more Moluccan and Chinese participants. They were often difficult to reach or felt that the study was too time consuming. The length of stay of Chinese participants

in the Netherlands varied from 7 months to 3.7 years (M_{year} = 1.69, *SD* = 1.11). In terms of their cultural identification (assessed with an adjusted version of the Psychological Acculturation Scale, Schaafsma, Nezlek, Krejtz, & Safron, 2010), Moluccans and Chinese identified more strongly with their culture of origin (*M* = 5.33, *SD* = 0.94 and *M* = 4.07, *SD* = 1.04, respectively) than with Dutch culture (*M* = 4.57, *SD* = 0.92 and *M* = 5.86, *SD* = 1.03, respectively), *t*s >17.08, *p*s < .001.

Over a period of 14 days, the Dutch participants described 981 interactions (*M* = 30.66, *SD* = 9.16), the Moluccan participants described 519 interactions (*M* = 27.31, *SD* = 11.29) and the Chinese participants described 343 interactions (*M* = 17.15, *SD* = 5.52).

Social interaction diary

Participants were told that the study was on how people interact with others in their everyday lives and how they feel during these interactions. Before they started with the diary, participants received instructions (by phone or during a meeting) on how to fill out the diary form.

To measure people's daily interactions, we used a variant of the Rochester Interaction Record (Wheeler & Nezlek, 1977). For 2 weeks, participants described (via an online form) each face-to-face interaction (Skype included) that lasted longer than 10 minutes. They were asked to record each interaction after it had occurred or at a later time that day, but before midnight. Every day at 6 p.m., participants were reminded by e-mail to fill out the diary.

Participants described with whom they had interacted, by providing their initials, gender, age and cultural background. They also described their relationship with their interaction partners. In the present study, we were primarily interested in differences in interactions that involved close others (family, partner, romantic friend, or good friend) or non-close others (acquaintance, colleague, fellow student, supervisor, teacher, or stranger). Participants also described other aspects of the interaction (e.g., duration, purpose) that are not discussed in this paper.

For each interaction, participants rated the negative emotions (irritated, frustrated, ashamed and guilty) and positive emotions (proud, satisfied, respected and accepted) that they had experienced. They also indicated to what extent they had suppressed their positive and negative emotions. For this, we adjusted two emotion suppression items from the Emotion Regulation Questionnaire (Gross & John, 2003): "When I was feeling positive emotions, I was careful not to express them," and "When I was feeling negative emotions, I was careful not to express them." Each item was rated on a 9-point scale (1= not at all, 9 = very much).

Dutch and Moluccan participants completed the diary form in Dutch. Owing to software and technical issues, all research materials for the Chinese participants (exchange students who were all relatively fluent in English) were written in English. To make sure that they understood the meaning of the emotion items in the diary form, they were given an additional instruction form with clarifications of these items in both English and Chinese. These items were first translated into Chinese by a Chinese native speaker and then back translated into English by three other Chinese native speakers. We verified the clarity of the translated items during an instruction meeting with Chinese participants.

Trait-level measures

Before and after completing the diary study, participants completed a questionnaire so that we could compare our samples in terms of a number of important background variables: the extent to which they defined themselves as more independent (which is emphasized in individualistic cultures) or interdependent (which is emphasized in collectivistic cultures), and the extent to which they generally suppress emotions.

Participants' independent and interdependent selves were measured prior to the diary study, using the Singelis Self-Construal scale. This is a 24-item scale that consists of an interdependent subscale (e.g., "I feel good when I cooperate with others") and an independent subscale (e.g., "I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects"). Participants rated each item on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). Cronbach's alpha for the independent subscale was .76 for Dutch, .71 for Moluccan and .42 for Chinese participants. Cronbach's alpha for the interdependent subscale was .65 for Dutch, .62 for Moluccan and .82 for Chinese participants.

Trait-level emotion suppression was assessed after participants had completed the diary forms. For this, we used the four suppression items from the Emotion Regulation Questionnaire (e.g., "I keep my feelings to myself"; Gross & John, 2003). Each item was rated on a 7-point scale (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree). Cronbach's alpha was .75 for Dutch, .79 for Moluccan and .64 for Chinese participants.

RESULTS

The data collected in this study have a multi-level structure: interactions (Level 1) are nested within persons (Level 2). To analyze these data, we used hierarchical linear modelling (HLM 6; Raudenbush, Bryk, & Congdon, 2004). Conceptually,

one could argue that we should estimate three-level models, because interactions are nested within persons and persons are nested within cultural groups. There were, however, not enough cultural groups to reliably estimate such models (see Nezlek, 2011). Therefore, we treated cultural group as a person-level variable.

To understand the extent to which participants suppressed positive and negative emotions, we examined whether the three cultural groups in our sample differed in the negative and positive emotions that they reported. We also examined whether this varied as a function of whether interactions involved close or non-close others. We then analyzed whether the three groups differed in the extent to which they suppressed negative and positive emotions, and whether this depended on who the co-interactants were. Finally, we examined relationships between self-construal and emotion regulation in the different samples.

Before we conducted these analyses, we checked whether the three groups differed in trait-level emotional suppression and in their independent and interdependent self-construal. For these analyses, we used analyses of variance (ANOVAs) to estimate differences between the groups and paired samples tests to examine differences within groups.

Preliminary analyses: Cross-cultural differences in trait-level emotional suppression and self-construal

A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed significant differences between the groups in trait emotional suppression, $F(2, 64) = 4.12$, $p = .021$. A contrast analysis showed that Chinese participants scored higher on the trait emotional suppression scale ($M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.11$) than Moluccan participants ($M = 2.75$, $SD = 1.31$), $F(2, 64) = 8.24$, $p = .006$. They also scored somewhat higher than Dutch participants on this scale ($M = 3.31$, $SD = 1.10$), $F(2, 64) = 2.72$, $p = .10$. No differences were found between Moluccan and Dutch participants in average emotion suppression, $F(2, 64) = 2.62$, $p = .11$.

We also examined whether the independent and interdependent self-construal scores differed within the three groups. We found that Chinese participants scored higher on interdependent self-construal ($M = 4.93$, $SD = 0.77$) than on independent self-construal ($M = 4.58$, $SD = 0.56$), $t(19) = 2.16$, $p = .044$. Moluccans scored somewhat higher on independent self-construal ($M = 4.77$, $SD = 0.71$) than on interdependent self-construal ($M = 4.44$, $SD = 0.67$), $t(18) = 1.76$, $p = .095$. Interestingly, the average scores of Dutch participants on independent ($M = 4.66$, $SD = 0.73$) and interdependent self-construal ($M = 4.60$, $SD = 0.56$) did not differ, $t(31) = .45$, $p = .66$.

Furthermore, we checked whether the three groups differed in their average scores on independent and interdependent self-construal. A one-way ANOVA

revealed a trend for interdependent self-construal, $F(2, 68) = 2.93$, $p = .060$. Chinese participants scored somewhat higher on this scale ($M = 4.93$) than Moluccan ($M = 4.44$, $p = .041$) and Dutch participants ($M = 4.60$, $p = .060$). Moluccan and Dutch participants did not differ in this regard, $p = .38$. The mean independent self-construal scores did not differ across the three groups (Chinese = 4.58, Moluccan = 4.77, Dutch = 4.66), $F(2, 68) = 0.38$, $p = .69$.

Cross-cultural differences in the experience and suppression of negative emotions in everyday interactions

We then examined cross-cultural differences in the suppression of negative emotions during everyday interactions. For this purpose, we first examined whether the three cultural groups differed in the negative emotions that they reported. We estimated a Level 1 model that was "totally unconditional," meaning that no predictors were entered:

$$\text{Level 1}: y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + r_{ij}$$

We analyzed differences between the three cultural groups with the following model at Level 2:

$$\text{Level 2}: \beta_{0j} = \gamma_{11}(\text{MO}) + \gamma_{12}(\text{CH}) + \gamma_{13}(\text{DU}) + u_{1j}$$

In these models, MO, CH and DU were dummy-coded predictors representing each cultural group (Molucccans, Chinese and Dutch, respectively). We entered these predictors uncentred and dropped the intercept so that the resulting coefficients represent the means for each cultural group. These means were compared using chi-square tests of fixed effects. As can be seen in Table 2.1 (top panel), the three groups did not differ in the extent to which they reported negative emotions, with the exception that Chinese participants reported somewhat more irritation during their interactions than Dutch participants, $\chi^2(1) = 3.59$, $p = .055$.

Following this, we analyzed whether the negative emotions that participants reported depended on who the co-interactants were. For this, we estimated so-called no-intercept models at Level 1, in which we entered two dummy-coded predictors (uncentred) representing whether the interaction involved close others or non-close others:

$$\text{Level 1}: y_{ij} = \beta_{1j}(\text{Close}) + \beta_{2j}(\text{Non-Close}) + r_{ij}$$

Table 2.1. ***Means for negative and positive emotions during interactions (across cultural groups)***

	Dutch	Moluccan	Chinese
Negative			
Ashamed	1.82	2.04	1.78
Guilty	1.77	1.91	1.56
Irritated	2.13	2.08	1.72
Frustrated	2.34	2.26	2.19
Positive			
Accepted	7.20_{a}	7.89_{b}	7.42_{ac}
Respected	7.14_{a}	7.88_{b}	7.25_{a}
Proud	5.47_{a}	6.51_{b}	5.64_{a}
Satisfied	6.34_{a}	6.95_{b}	6.84_{b}

Note. Within rows, means not sharing a subscript were significantly different at .05 or beyond. In rows with no subscripts, no pair of means was significantly different.

At Level 2, we again used a set of dummy-coded predictors, representing each cultural group. We entered these predictors uncentred and dropped the intercept so that the resulting coefficients represent the means for each cultural group across interactions that involve close or non-close others:

$$\text{Level 2}: \quad \beta_{1j} = \gamma_{11}\,(\text{MO}) + \gamma_{12}\,(\text{CH}) + \gamma_{13}\,(\text{DU}) + u_{1j}$$
$$\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{21}\,(\text{MO}) + \gamma_{22}\,(\text{CH}) + \gamma_{23}\,(\text{DU}) + u_{2j}$$

We compared these means using chi-square tests of fixed effects. The results can be found in Table 2.2 (top panel).

We found that Chinese participants reported more irritation and frustration in interactions with non-close others than with close others, $\chi^2(1) = 8.06$, $p = .005$ and $\chi^2(1) = 7.13$, $p = .008$, respectively. Dutch also reported more irritation with non-close than with close others, $\chi^2(1) = 3.79$, $p = .049$. Moluccans reported more guilt with close than with non-close others, $\chi^2(1) = 14.03$, $p < .001$.

We then examined cross-cultural differences in the extent to which participants suppressed their negative emotions. For this, we again estimated a model at Level 1 that was totally unconditional. At Level 2, we entered three dummy-coded variables (uncentred) representing each cultural group, and we dropped the intercept (see Table 2.3). In line with the idea that people from collectivistic cultures regulate their emotions more than people from individualistic cultures, we found that Chinese participants suppressed negative emotions more than Dutch participants, $\chi^2(1) = 24.48$, $p < .001$. Interestingly, Chinese participants

also suppressed negative emotions more than Moluccans, $\chi^2(1) = 25.32$, $p < .001$. Moluccan and Dutch participants did not differ in the extent to which they suppressed negative emotions, $\chi^2(1) = .16$, $p > .50$. In an additional set of analyses, we examined whether these findings were related to differences in self-construal. For this, we added the interaction between each cultural group and self-construal (interdependent or independent, standardized within each sample) at Level 2. These analyses revealed that in the Chinese sample, participants who were higher in interdependent self-construal were indeed more likely to suppress negative emotions, $B = .098$, $p = .018$. In the Dutch and Moluccan samples, however, no relationships were found between interdependent self-construal and negative emotion suppression (Bs < .32, ps > .54). Furthermore, across the three samples, no relationships were found between independent self-construal and negative emotion suppression (Bs < .58, ps > .12).

Table 2.2. ***Means for negative and positive emotions during interactions with close and non-close others (comparisons within cultural groups)***

	Dutch		Moluccan		Chinese	
	Close	Non-Close	Close	Non-Close	Close	Non-Close
Negative						
Ashamed	1.76	1.94†	2.05	2.03	1.69	2.09†
Guilty	1.76	1.78	2.09***	1.49	1.52	1.71
Irritated	2.03	2.34*	2.18	1.88	1.52	2.42**
Frustrated	2.25	2.50	2.34	2.18	1.96	2.99**
Positive						
Accepted	7.45***	6.72	8.05*	7.58	7.67**	6.68
Respected	7.36***	6.70	8.00*	7.61	7.42**	6.66
Proud	5.53	5.34	6.55	6.45	5.77†	5.29
Satisfied	6.38	6.27	6.95	6.96	7.15***	5.95

$^{***}p < .001$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{*}p < .05$ $\dagger p < .10$

Table 2.3. ***Means for emotion suppression during interactions across cultural groups***

	Dutch	Moluccan	Chinese
Negative Emotions	2.99_a	2.85_a	5.14_b
Positive Emotions	1.64_a	1.97_a	3.21_b

Note. Within rows, means not sharing a subscript were significantly different at .05 or beyond.

Finally, we analyzed whether participants' negative emotion suppression varied as a function of who the co-interactants were. This analysis is comparable to the one that we described above (estimating differences across the three groups in negative

emotions experienced during interactions with close and non-close others) and the results can be found in Table 2.4. In line with our expectations, we found that Dutch suppressed negative emotions more with non-close others than with close others, $\chi^2(1) = 18.92$, $p < .001$. For Chinese and Moluccan participants, however, no such differences were found, $\chi^2(1) = 1.95$, $p = .16$ and $\chi^2(1) = 1.55$, $p = .21$, respectively. Follow-up analyses revealed no relationships between interdependent or independent self-construal and negative emotion suppression with close or non-close others in the three groups (*B*s < .47, *p*s > .26).

Table 2.4. ***Means for emotion suppression during interactions with close or non-close others (comparisons within cultural groups)***

	Dutch		Moluccan		Chinese	
	Close	Non-Close	Close	Non-Close	Close	Non-Close
Negative Emotions	2.72	3.58***	2.74	3.10	5.05	5.38
Positive Emotions	1.52	1.90**	1.90	2.20	2.97	3.91***

***$p < .001$ **$p < .01$

Cross-cultural differences in the experience and suppression of positive emotions in everyday interactions

To analyze the extent to which participants suppressed positive emotions, we conducted a series of analyses similar to the ones that we described in the previous section. These analyses revealed that Moluccan participants reported more positive feelings such as acceptance, respect and pride during their interactions than Chinese (χ^2s > 3.65, *p*s < .054) and Dutch participants (χ^2s > 9.08, *p*s < .004). Moluccan and Chinese participants also reported more satisfaction than Dutch participants, $\chi^2(1) = 7.54$, $p = .006$ and $\chi^2(1) = 3.81$, $p = .048$, respectively (see Table 2.1, bottom panel). The positive emotions that participants reported also depended on the co-interactants. Across the three groups, participants felt more accepted and respected with close others than with non-close others, χ^2s > 5.03, *p*s < .023; χ^2s > 4.17, *p*s < .038, respectively. Chinese participants also reported more satisfaction with close than with non-close others, $\chi^2(1) = 16.77$, $p < .001$ (see Table 2.2, bottom panel).

As expected, the three groups differed in the extent to which they suppressed positive emotions during their interactions (see Table 2.3). Chinese participants suppressed positive emotions more than Dutch and Moluccan participants ($\chi^2(1) = 20.70$, $p < .001$ and $\chi^2(1) = 10.26$, $p = .002$, respectively). No differences were found between Moluccan and Dutch participants, $\chi^2(1) = 2.28$, $p = .12$. Interestingly, follow-up analyses revealed no relationships between interdependent self-construal and positive emotion suppression across the three samples, *B*s > .29, *p*s

> .09. In the Dutch sample, however, there was a negative relationship between independent self-construal and positive emotion suppression, B = -.27, p = .048. No such relationship was found in the Chinese and Moluccan samples, Bs < .35, ps > .56.

In line with our expectations, we also found that Chinese participants suppressed positive emotions less in interactions with close others than with non-close others, $\chi^2(1) = 17.04$, $p < .001$ (see Table 2.4). A similar pattern was found for Dutch participants: they suppressed positive emotions less with close others than with non-close others, $\chi^2(1) = 7.30$, $p = .007$. No such differences were found for Moluccans, $\chi^2(1) = 1.92$, $p = .16$. Across the three samples, however, we found no relationships between interdependent or independent self-construal and positive emotion suppression in close or non-close interactions, Bs < .46, ps > .17.

DISCUSSION

The aim of the present study was to examine cross-cultural differences in emotion regulation in everyday interactions. More specifically, we examined whether people with collectivistic backgrounds (Chinese) suppress positive and negative emotions more during their daily interactions as compared to people with an individualistic background (Dutch). In addition, we examined whether suppression of positive and negative emotions varies as a function of whether interactions are with close others or not. We also explored whether emotion suppression may change when people have grown-up in a different culture. For this purpose, our sample also consisted of Moluccans who were born and raised in the Netherlands.

Our findings support the idea that people who are born and raised in a collectivistic culture suppress their emotions more during their everyday interactions than people from individualistic cultures. Although the three groups in our study did not differ much in the emotions that they reported, we found that Chinese participants suppressed both positive and negative emotions more than Dutch participants. We also found that this was related to differences in self-construal. In the Chinese sample, participants with a more interdependent self-construal were more likely to suppress negative emotions (but not positive emotions). In the Dutch sample, participants with a more independent self-construal were less likely to suppress positive emotions (but not negative emotions). These findings lend support for the idea that people from collectivistic backgrounds may be particularly motivated to maintain harmony during their interactions with others, whereas people with individualistic backgrounds may be more motivated to express their (positive) feelings (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, 1994).

In line with our expectations, we also found that emotion suppression depended on who the co-interactants were. Even though Chinese participants suppressed their emotions more than Dutch and Moluccan participants, they suppressed positive emotions less with close others than with non-close others. And, despite the fact that they generally suppressed their emotions less, Dutch participants did suppress negative emotions more with non-close others than with close-others. These findings may reflect a basic difference in the meaning of close versus non-close relationships in collectivistic and individualistic cultures. In collectivistic cultures, people generally belong to and are dependent upon a stable ingroup and so they may express positive emotions with those who belong to the inner circle because this may foster their connectedness with them (e.g., Triandis et al., 1988). Nevertheless, in individualistic cultures, relationships are more flexible and people tend to be more dependent upon others from outside their inner circle as well (e.g., Schug et al., 2010). They may therefore suppress negative emotions with those who do not belong to their inner circle as this may help them establish positive relationships with them or avoid negative interactions.

It is important to note, however, that across the different samples we did not find relationships between the self-construal measures (independent or interdependent) and the suppression of positive or negative emotions in close or non-close interactions. It is possible that the relatively small samples and the moderate to low internal consistency of some of the Singelis self-construal subscales made it more difficult to reliably detect such relationships (for a discussion on the validity of self-construal scales, see Levine et al., 2003). We cannot rule out, however, that our findings reflect other differences across the samples that we did not assess. More insight is also needed into the underlying motives of people from collectivistic and individualistic cultures to suppress or display their emotions in relationships with close or non-close others. For example, the fact that Dutch participants not only suppressed negative emotions but also suppressed positive emotions more with non-close than with close others suggests that they do not necessarily seek to establish positive relationships with them but may be motivated to avoid negative interactions. Future research will therefore need to consider more fully why people across different cultures suppress emotions and whether they do so to reach positive outcomes (e.g., harmony and acceptance) or to avoid negative outcomes (e.g., conflict and rejection; see Roseman, 2008).

Interestingly, our findings also suggest that emotion suppression depends on the larger cultural setting in which people have been raised. We found that Moluccan participants suppressed positive and negative emotions less than Chinese participants (who had only recently arrived in the Netherlands) but did not differ from Dutch participants in this regard. Moluccans also did not differ from Dutch

participants on a trait measure of emotion suppression. This finding is consistent with previous studies that have found that the longer people with collectivistic backgrounds live in an individualistic society, the less they suppress their emotions (e.g., Eng, 2012). A possible explanation is that they may have adopted the values of the host society. For example, we found that Moluccan participants defined themselves as somewhat more independent than interdependent. Remarkably, however, they did not regulate their emotions differently with close or non-close others. It is possible that this is related to their position as immigrants, as they may not only depend strongly on their ingroup but also on out-group members. Nevertheless, at present we cannot draw firm conclusions regarding this possibility so more studies are needed to address this issue. To more accurately establish how emotion regulation may change as a function of acculturation processes, future studies should also compare first or second generation immigrants with recent arrivals of the same ethnic group.

To our knowledge, the present study is the first to examine cross-cultural differences in emotion regulation in people's everyday interactions, using a daily diary method. Notwithstanding the value of this method, we are aware that it may be sensitive to biases as well (e.g., selective reporting and social desirability; see Schwartz & Sudman, 1992). We also had to make several limiting decisions regarding the measures that we used. For example, although we did ask participants about the specific emotions that they experienced during their interactions, we did not ask them to what extent they suppressed each emotion but we used a global measure instead. Yet, it is possible that there are cross-cultural differences in the specific negative or positive emotions that people suppress (e.g., Matsumoto, 1990). Another limitation concerns the samples that we used. Although this study included groups that have traditionally been under-represented in research (e.g., Moluccans), it is important to note that the number of participants in each sample was small (also because they were difficult to reach) which makes it more difficult to draw firm conclusions about group-based differences in emotion suppression and limits the generalizability of our findings. As such, the findings need to be replicated with larger samples. Furthermore, Chinese participants were exchange students who were not living in their country of origin. This may have affected the nature of their interactions and how they regulated their emotions during these interactions. In this regard, it is also important to note that Chinese participants reported less interactions than Moluccan and Dutch participants.

Nevertheless, the present study advances research on emotion suppression in important ways as it provides a nuanced perspective on cross-cultural differences in everyday emotion regulation. Although we found support for the idea that members of collectivistic cultures suppress emotions more than members of indi-

vidualistic cultures, our findings also suggest that this depends on the interaction partner(s) and on the cultural setting in which people have been raised. We believe that future cross-cultural research on emotion regulation should consider the use of daily diary methods, as these methods may allow us to more fully understand the complexity of emotion regulation across cultures.

Chapter 3

Cross-cultural differences in emotional responses to injustice targeting an individual or group

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, we examined the positive and negative emotions that people with individualistic or collectivistic backgrounds experience during their day-to-day interactions. In this chapter, we concentrate on the negative emotions that they may experience when they are being treated unfairly. We do so because people may encounter injustice in many aspects of their everyday lives: when someone jumps the queue at a bus or breaks a promise, or when people discriminate against them because of their age, gender, ethnic background or disability. Research has shown that such instances of injustice can elicit negative emotions such as disappointment, anger, and frustration (e.g., Bembenek, Beike, &Schroeder, 2007; Krehbiel & Cropanzano, 2000; Mark, 1985), and can also negatively affect people's psychological well-being and their self-esteem (e.g., Koper, Van Knippenberg, Bouhuijs, Vermunt, & Wilke, 1993; Tepper, 2001).

It has been argued that people's reactions to (un)fairness may depend on whether they define themselves as more independent (as is the case in more individualistic settings such as the Netherlands) or as more interdependent (as is the case in more collectivistic settings such as China) (e.g., Brockner, Chen, Mannix, Leung, & Skarlicki, 2000; Van Prooijen & Zwenk, 2009). Some researchers have made the case that people with a more independent (or individual) self should respond more strongly to (un)fair procedures than those with a more interdependent (social) self, because such procedures inform them about whether or not they are valued and respected, and hence have implications for their feelings of self-worth (e.g., Van Prooijen & Zwenk, 2009). Consistent with this idea, Van Prooijen and Zwenk (2009) found that people's reactions to a fair vs. unfair voice procedure (i.e., having versus not having the opportunity to express their opinion about a reward allocation) were stronger when their independent self was activated than when their interdependent self was activated. Other researchers, however, have suggested that procedural (in)justice should have a stronger impact on those with an interdependent self, because it conveys a message about the quality of their relationships with others (e.g., Brockner et al., 2000; Brockner, De Cremer, Van den Bos, & Chen, 2005; De Cremer & Tyler, 2005a). Support for this view comes from Brockner and colleagues (2005). In their study, participants were either asked or not asked to voice their opinion about a decision to hire a new employee. It was found that participants with a more interdependent self engaged in more cooperative behavior when they had been given the opportunity to voice their opinion, but not when they had been deprived of this opportunity.

Most studies in this area, however, have not examined whether people's responses to unfairness also vary across cultures that are more individualistic (and hence

value independence) or more collectivistic (and hence value interdependence) (e.g., Tyler, Degoey, & Smith, 1996; De Cremer & Tyler, 2005b). Instead, the studies that have been conducted so far have activated participants from one culture with an independent self or interdependent self (e.g., Van den Bos, Miedema, Vermunt, & Zwenk, 2011; Van Prooijen & Zwenk, 2009). Although these studies are valuable, it is important to examine whether people's responses to injustice also depend on whether their cultural background is individualistic or collectivistic.

Previous research on how people's self-definition affects their reactions to injustice has also been limited to injustice that targets a specific individual whereas there are many instances of injustice that target people as a collective. For example, in their everyday lives, people may experience that their social group is being discriminated against or deprived of resources compared to other social groups (e.g., Schaafsma, 2008; Schaafsma, 2011). One could argue that injustice that targets a group rather than a specific individual may be particularly threatening to people with collectivistic backgrounds because they are more likely to feel connected to their social environment and use the group to define themselves and to evaluate themselves (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Moreover, when injustice targets people as a collective, this generally involves a comparison between one's own group and another group and research suggests that such intergroup comparisons are particularly important for people with a more interdependent self, as they derive part of their self-esteem from comparing their own group to other groups (e.g., Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi & Cotting, 1999; Tyler & Smith, 1999). This could imply that, compared to people with individualistic backgrounds, those with collectivistic backgrounds may respond more negatively to injustice that targets them as a collective versus injustice that targets them as an individual.

At the same time, however, it is possible that when injustice targets people as a collective, they are still primarily concerned with how this affects them personally (i.e., their own gains and losses) (e.g., Sedikides & Gaertner, 2001). For example, Foster and Matheson (1999) found that women evaluated discrimination on the basis of their gender as an attack against the individual self as well, perhaps by reasoning that "what happens to the group could also happen to me". One could also argue that being a member of a group may primarily serve the needs of the individual such as protection of one's independent self and validation of one's inner attributes (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Sedikides & Gaertner, 2001). Thus, in a group setting concerns about "what's in it for me", may be as important as "what's in it for us". Consequently, when injustice targets people as a collective, they may perceive this as an attack against their independent selves as well: what harms the group, harms the individual (Sedikides & Gaertner, 2001). This could

imply that people from collectivistic and individualistic cultures may not differ in how they respond to injustice that targets them as a group.

As it stands, it is unclear whether people from individualistic and collectivistic backgrounds differ in how they respond to injustice and whether this also varies as a function of whether the injustice targets them individually or as a collective. The present study sought to address this issue, in a sample of Dutch and Chinese students. We used an injustice manipulation that was similar to one of the three most frequently mentioned unjust events in Mikula's study (1986), which was breaking an agreement or promise by changing the (experimental) procedure in favour of other participants. In terms of people's reactions, we focused on feelings of anger and disappointment. Feelings of anger may emerge when people believe that existing rules have been violated, while feelings of disappointment may emerge when people are being deprived of a favourable outcome (Bembenek et al., 2007; Krehbiel et al., 2000).

METHOD

Participants and design

A total of 44 Chinese exchange students in the Netherlands (16 men, 28 women; M_{age} = 23.9, *SD* = 2.67) and 48 undergraduate Dutch students (17 men, 31 women; M_{age} = 20.0, *SD* = 2.30) at a Dutch university participated in the study. Chinese students received €5 for their participation and Dutch students obtained course credits for their participation. The study had a 2 (cultural group: Dutch vs. Chinese) X 2 (injustice: individual vs. group) between subjects design (21-26 participants per cell).

Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to an individual injustice condition or a group injustice condition. In the individual injustice condition, participants had to perform a set of tasks alone. In the group injustice condition, participants had to perform these tasks with two other persons from the same cultural group. In this experiment we used an injustice manipulation in which participants were deprived of a monetary reward.

Upon arrival at the lab, participants were told that the goal of the experiment was to compare people's performance on two cognitive tasks. In the individual injustice condition, participants arrived in the lab individually and they were led to believe that they would be given two computer tasks and that their performance on these tasks would be compared to that of a (fictitious) person who was

in another room. In the group condition, participants arrived in the lab with two other participants from the same cultural group (i.e., Dutch or Chinese). They were led to believe that they would work as a team on the same two computer tasks against another (fictitious) team of three persons that was in another room. Prior to the explanation of the experimental procedure, we checked whether participants knew each other and (if not) asked them to introduce themselves to each other (e.g., place of residence, discipline, year of study) as they would be working as a team. Following this, the various computer tasks were explained. Participants were told that the scores on the separate computer tasks would be added up to form their final score. In the individual injustice condition, they were told that this score would be compared to the score of the other person at the other location. In the group condition, they were told that the scores of all team members would be added up to form their final team score and that this total score would be compared to the final score of the other team. Participants in the individual condition were informed that the person with the highest score would receive €10. Participants in the group condition were told that the team with the total highest score would get €10 per person. Thus, they had to work together as a team to get this reward.

Participants were then led to single cubicles to work on two short computer tasks. These computer tasks were similar to a number-naming Stroop-test (i.e., naming the number of similar words that are projected while attempting to ignore the meaning of the words) and a color-naming Stroop-test (i.e., naming the color in which a word is projected while attempting to ignore the meaning of the word), respectively. After finishing the computer tasks participants read on the computer screen that they or their team had the best score and that they would get the monetary reward. Subsequently, injustice was manipulated: the experimenter entered the cubicle to announce that she had just received a call from her colleague who had told her that the procedure had changed and that the other person (individual condition) or team (group condition) would be given the money instead. The experimenter told participants that she did not know the reason for this change of procedure.

Participants were then asked to complete two questionnaires. First, they filled out the questionnaire that pertained to the dependent variables. The second questionnaire was presented as a separate study. Participants were led to believe that this questionnaire concerned an evaluation of all lab experiments at the university, to check whether researchers complied with the codes of conduct for conducting research. The real purpose of this questionnaire, however, was to check whether participants perceived the procedural manipulation as unfair and how they felt about being deprived of the money that they were entitled to. After completing

the questionnaires, the participants left the cubicles and were thoroughly debriefed and thanked for their participation.

Measures

To check whether Dutch participants defined themselves as more independent and whether Chinese participants defined themselves as more interdependent, the Singelis Self-Construal scale (1994) was administered. Independent and interdependent self-construal were measured with 12 items each, and these could be answered using a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). Cronbach's alpha for the independent subscale was .49 for Dutch participants and .62 for Chinese participants. Cronbach's alpha for the interdependent subscale was .63 for the Dutch participants and .59 for the Chinese participants.

The main dependent variables were participants' feelings of anger and disappointment, both in general and related to the procedural injustice manipulation. All responses were given on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

To measure general feelings of anger, participants were asked to indicate to what extent they felt annoyed, angry, mad and furious. These items were integrated into an '*anger*' scale. Cronbach's α for this scale was .85 for Dutch and .80 for Chinese. Participants were also asked to indicate how angry and irritated they felt about the reward allocation. Pearson's correlation between these items was .70 ($p < .001$) for Dutch participants and .78 ($p < .001$) for Chinese participants. These items were therefore combined into an '*anger about reward allocation*' scale.

Participants were also asked to indicate on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) to what extent they felt disappointed and frustrated. The correlation between these two items was .82 ($p < .001$) for Dutch participants and .55 ($p < .001$) for Chinese participants. These two items produced a '*disappointment*' scale. They were also asked to what extent they felt disappointed and frustrated about the reward allocation. These two items were also combined into a '*disappointment about reward allocation*' scale. Pearson's correlation was .55, $p < .001$ for Dutch and .63, $p < .001$ for Chinese participants.

Finally, we checked how participants felt they were treated by the researchers and how they evaluated the procedure. For this, they were asked one question about how partial the researchers were ("To what extent were the researchers partial?") and two questions about how the researchers treated them ("To what extent did the researchers treat you politely?" and "To what extent did the researchers treat you respectfully?"). Pearson's correlation between these two items was .83 ($p < .001$) for Dutch participants and .54 ($p < .001$) for Chinese participants. We also asked participants the following four questions about the experimental procedure:

"To what extent was the experiment conducted in an honest way?", "To what extent was the experiment conducted fairly?", "To what extent was the way in which you have been rewarded for taking part in this experiment just?" and "To what extent was the procedure used to allocate money in this experiment just?". These four items were combined to form *a 'judgement about procedure'* scale. All these questions could be answered using a 7-point scale (1 = not at all, 7 = very much). Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .86 for Dutch participants and .76 for Chinese participants.

RESULTS

Descriptives and manipulation check

We checked whether Dutch participants defined themselves as more independent and whether Chinese participants defined themselves as more interdependent. A paired samples t-test revealed significantly higher scores for Dutch participants on the independent self-construal scale (M = 4.84, SD = 0.54) than on the interdependent self-construal scale (M = 4.61, SD = 0.59), $t(47) = 2.03$, $p = .048$. In contrast, Chinese participants scored significantly higher on the interdependent self-construal scale (M = 5.01, SD = 0.69) than on the independent self-construal scale (M = 4.53, SD = 0.60), $t(42) = -4.02$, $p < .001$. We also compared whether Dutch and Chinese participants differed on both self-construal scales. This analysis revealed that Dutch participants scored higher on the independent self-construal scale than Chinese participants, $t(89) = 2.39$, $p = .019$, whereas Chinese participants scored higher on the interdependent self-construal scale than Dutch participants, $t(90) = 3.32$, $p = .001$.

We checked whether Dutch and Chinese participants differed in their evaluation of how fair the experiment was, how partial they thought the researchers were and with how much respect the researchers had treated them. A two-way ANOVA revealed that Chinese participants perceived the procedure of the experiment to be more fair (M = 4.94, SD = 1.17) than Dutch participants (M = 4.30, SD = 1.46), $F(1, 88) = 5.00$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2 = .054$. Participants in the individual injustice condition (M = 4.52, SD = 1.48) and group injustice condition (M = 4.67, SD = 1.26) did not differ in their perceptions of fairness, $F(1, 88) = .39$, $p = .53$, $\eta^2 = .00$. There was also no interaction between culture and injustice condition, $F(1, 88) = 1.14$, $p = .29$, $\eta^2 = .01$. Remarkably, Chinese participants also found the researchers to be more partial (M = 4.14, SD = 2.17) than Dutch participants, M = 2.58, SD = 1.72, $F(1, 87) = 14.17$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .140$. This did not depend on whether the injustice targeted them individually (M = 3.36, SD = 2.08) or as

a group (M = 3.29, SD = 2.11, F(1, 87) = .02, p = .88, η^2 = .00), and there was no interaction between cultural group and injustice condition, F(1, 87) = .01, p = .91, η^2 = .00. Furthermore, Chinese participants (M = 6.45, SD = 0.86) did not differ from Dutch participants (M = 6.64, SD = 0.52) in the extent to which they were treated with respect by the researchers, F(1, 88) = 1.63, p = .21, η^2 = .02. This did not depend on the type of injustice condition (individual-based or group-based), F(1, 88) = 1.71, p = .19, η^2 = .02, nor was there an interaction between cultural group and injustice condition for respectful treatment, F(1, 88) = 0.17, p = .68, η^2 = .00. Given the differences between the samples in people's judgement about the fairness of the experimental procedure and the partiality of the researchers, we included these variables as covariates in our main analyses.

Culture, injustice, and feelings of anger

To examine whether the two samples responded differently to group-based or individual-based injustice, we conducted a set of two-way ANCOVAs with cultural group and injustice condition as the independent variables, and feelings of anger in general and anger about the reward allocation as the outcome variables. We simultaneously included judgement about the procedure and partiality of the researchers as the covariates. We obtained significant effects for judgement about the procedure in all these analyses, but not for partiality. In the results that are reported below, we only controlled for procedural judgement, unless otherwise reported. An overview of the unadjusted means can be found in Table 3.1.

We found that Chinese participants reported more anger (M = 2.49, SD = 1.19) than Dutch participants (M = 2.02, SD = 1.12), F(1, 85) = 9.62, p = .003, η_p^2 = .102. Feelings of anger did not depend on whether the injustice targeted people individually (M = 2.16, SD = 1.18) or as a group (M = 2.33, SD = 1.17), F(1, 85) = 1.24, p = .27, η_p^2 = .01. Along with this, we found no interaction between cultural group and injustice condition for anger, F(1, 85 = 0.21, p = .65, η_p^2 = .00.

When it comes to reported feelings of anger that involved the reward allocation, we found no differences between Dutch (M = 2.96, SD = 1.61) and Chinese participants (M = 2.88 SD = 1.61) in how angry they felt, F(1, 83) = 0.07, p = .80, η_p^2 = .00), and these feelings also did not depend on whether the injustice was targeted at the group (M = 2.94, SD = 1.61) or the individual (M = 2.90, SD = 1.61), F(1, 83) = 0.15, p = .70, η_p^2 = .00. We also found no interaction between cultural group and injustice condition for feelings of anger toward the reward allocation, F(1, 83) = 0.00, p = .94, η_p^2 = .00.

Table 3.1. ***Means for emotional responses across injustice conditions, for each cultural group (standard deviations between parentheses)***

	Dutch		Chinese	
	Individual	Group	Individual	Group
Anger	1.83 (1.06)	2.19 (1.16)	2.59 (1.21)	2.48 (1.18)
Anger (reward)	2.91 (1.72)	3.00 (1.54)	2.90 (1.54)	2.87 (1.71)
Disappointment	2.61 (1.74)	2.98 (1.62)	2.95 (1.50)	2.70 (1.68)
Disappointment (reward)	3.32 (1.63)	3.38 (1.63)	4.08 (1.53)	2.78 (1.64)

Culture, injustice, and feelings of disappointment

The effect of cultural group and injustice on feelings of disappointment was again examined by means of a set of two-way ANCOVAs, in which judgment about the procedure and partiality of the researchers were simultaneously included as covariates. Again, the analyses revealed only significant effects for judgement about the procedure but not for partiality (which was removed from the analyses).

We found no differences between Dutch (M = 2.81, SD = 1.67) and Chinese participants (M = 2.81, SD = 1.59) in their feelings of disappointment, $F(1, 84) = 0.16$, $p = .69$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$. These feelings also did not depend on whether injustice targeted them personally (M = 2.77, SD = 1.62) or as a group, M = 2.84, SD = 1.64, $F(1, 84) = 0.35$, $p = .56$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$. There was also no interaction between cultural group and injustice condition, $F(1, 84) = 0.19$, $p = .67$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$.

We also found no differences between Dutch (M = 3.35, SD = 1.61) and Chinese participants (M = 3.38, SD = 1.70) in how disappointed they were about the reward allocation, $F(1, 84) = 0.19$, $p = .67$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$. There was no main effect of the injustice condition either, $F(1, 84) = 2.50$, $p = .12$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, and there was no interaction between cultural group and injustice condition, $F(1, 84) = 2.71$, $p = .10$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$.

Independent self and interdependent self as moderators

Finally, we conducted an additional set of analyses to examine whether people's self-construal would moderate cultural differences in reported emotions (anger, anger about the reward allocation, disappointment and disappointment about the reward allocation). For this purpose, we conducted moderation analyses, using PROCESS (model 1; Hayes, 2013), with independent self-construal and interdependent self-construal as moderators and both judgement about the procedure and injustice condition as the covariates. We obtained significant effects for judgement about the procedure in all these analyses, but not for injustice condition. In the results that are reported below, we only controlled for procedural judgement. The analysis was performed with 5000 bootstrapping samples and 95% bias-corrected

and accelerated confidence intervals to evaluate indirect effects. With regard to the moderating role of participants' independent self, the analyses revealed no main effects for cultural group or independent self-construal and no interaction between these variables (*B*s < 1.34, *p*s > .20) for all four emotions. As for the moderating role of participants' interdependent self in their emotional responses to injustice, we found a main effect of cultural group (B = 6.27, SE = 2.47, $t(87)$ = 2.54, p = .013) on disappointment, indicating that Chinese participants were more disappointed than Dutch participants. We also found a main effect of interdependent self-construal, indicating that participants who had a more interdependent self-construal were more disappointed than those who were less interdependent, B = .92, SE = 0.35, $t(87)$ = 2.61, p = .011. Furthermore, there was an interaction between cultural group and interdependent self-construal, B = -1.27, SE = .51, $t(87)$ = -2.49, p = .015. An inspection of this interaction revealed that Dutch participants with a more interdependent self (+ 1 S*D*) were more disappointed than those with a less interdependent self (B = .95, SE = .35, p = .009). For Chinese participants, no differences were found between those high and low in interdependence in how disappointed they were (B = -0.34, SE = .36, p = .36).

DISCUSSION

In the past years, there has been a debate about how people's self-construal may affect their responses to (in)justice. Whereas some researchers have suggested that negative reactions to injustice stem from concerns about the social self, others have argued that such reactions may (at least in some situations) also be shaped by concerns about the individual self (e.g., Brockner, De Cremer, Van den Bos, & Chen, 2005; Van Prooijen & Zwenk, 2009). So far, however, most research in this area has been limited to within-culture comparisons and much less is known about possible cross-cultural differences in this regard. In this study, we investigated how people from individualistic or collectivistic backgrounds respond to an unfair procedure, and whether their responses also vary as a function of whether the injustice targets them personally or as a group.

Overall, our findings provide more support for the idea that negative reactions to injustice stem from concerns about the interdependent or social self. For example, we found that Chinese participants reported more anger following the injustice manipulation than Dutch participants. We also found that they were more disappointed than Dutch participants, be it that Dutch participants with a more interdependent self were more disappointed than those with a less interdependent self. We did not find that the emotional responses of Dutch and Chinese

participants were moderated by the extent to which they defined themselves as independent. These findings suggest that it is the interdependent self that is more sensitive to (un)fair procedures, possibly because such procedures signal relevant information about the quality of people's interactions with others or their connectedness with the social environment. Of particular relevance in this regard is that Chinese participants found the procedure to be more fair, but also considered the experimenter to be more partial, suggesting that relational concerns may indeed have played a more important role for them (albeit that this did not directly affect their emotional responses).

Our findings contrast with previous research by Van Prooijen and Zwenk (2009) and Van den Bos and colleagues (2011), who found that when the individual (independent) self was activated people responded more negatively to injustice (vs. justice) than when the social (interdependent) self was activated. It is important to note, however, that their studies differ in a number of important ways from our study. For example, both Van Prooijen and Zwenk (2009) and Van den Bos and colleagues (2011) focused on differences in reactions to fair versus unfair procedures among individuals whose independent or interdependent self was activated. But in our study, we were primarily interested in whether and how people with interdependent (collectivistic) or independent (individualistic) backgrounds differ in how they respond to injustice. It is also possible that concerns about the independent or interdependent self depend on the type of injustice. For example, Van Prooijen and Zwenk measured reactions following a so-called voice procedure (versus a no-voice procedure), in which participants were asked to provide input in a decision-making process. Such procedures are more likely to validate people's individual attributes and hence activate the individual self than the procedure that we used in this study, in which participants were deprived of a monetary reward.

Interestingly, we found that Chinese and Dutch participants did not differ in how they responded to injustice that targeted them as an individual or as a group. This finding runs counter to the idea that injustice that targets a group should be particularly threatening to people with collectivistic backgrounds, because they are more likely to feel connected to their social environment and to use the group to define and evaluate themselves (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Van den Bos, Veldhuizen, Au, 2015). Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that participants in the group injustice condition were solely assigned to a group on the basis of their nationality and did not have the opportunity to interact with each other during the task or to get to know each other better. It is possible that simply being assigned to a group may not be enough for people with collectivistic backgrounds to establish a sense of connectedness or to elicit a group-based response (e.g., Brewer & Chen, 2007; Yuki, Maddux, Brewer, &

Takemura, 2005; Yuki & Takemura, 2014). Furthermore, it is important to note that the group injustice manipulation that we used not only targeted the group but also targeted the participants themselves. As such, it could have posed a threat to both the independent and the interdependent self.

A limitation of this study is that we only compared two cultural groups and that our sample sizes were relatively small, which makes it more difficult to draw firm conclusions about cultural differences (or similarities) in people's emotional responses to injustice. We also did not include a control group (no injustice manipulation), which arguably makes it somewhat harder to compare our findings with previous studies that focused on procedural fairness effects. It is also important to note that our injustice manipulation occurred in an artificial setting and that injustice that occurs in real life (e.g., being deprived of resources such as housing, social services, or job that the great majority of society enjoys) may elicit stronger or different emotional reactions (e.g., sadness). We also recommend that future research compares more systematically whether and how different types of injustice may affect people's reactions.

Nevertheless, with this study we have contributed to current theorizing and research on the role of the independent versus interdependent self in shaping people's responses to injustice, by examining this from a cross-cultural perspective. We included instances of group injustice in our study together with instances of personal injustice, as the former has received relatively little attention in justice research. Our findings provide more support for the idea that people's reactions to injustice are shaped by concerns about the interdependent self, but more cross-cultural studies are needed to examine this in more depth and across a wider range of samples and situations.

Chapter 4

Cross-cultural similarities and differences in motives to forgive: A comparison between and within cultures

This chapter is based on:

Huwaë, S., & Schaafsma, J.(2017). Cross-cultural similarities and differences in motives to forgive: A comparison between and within cultures. *International Journal of Psychology.*DOI: 10.1002/ijop.12461

INTRODUCTION

An inevitable part of social life is that we are sometimes confronted with people who treat us unfairly, violate our social or moral norms, or hurt our feelings. People can respond differently when this happens. While some may be motivated to seek revenge or cut off their relations with those who have offended them, others may decide to forgive the offender. Research has shown that people can have different motives to forgive those who have hurt or offended them (e.g., Baumeister, Exline, & Sommer, 1998; Exline, Worthington, Hill, & McCullough, 2003). For example, they may forgive out of concern for themselves (e.g., because they want to let go of the hurt they are experiencing), out of concern for the offender (e.g., because they feel compassion for this person), or out of concern for their relationship with the offender (e.g., because they want to maintain a good relationship with this person) (Strelan, McKee, Calic, Cook, & Shaw, 2013). In the present study we examine these forgiveness motives through a cross-cultural lens.

In the past years, cross-cultural researchers have started to consider the possibility that people's motives to forgive may differ across cultures (e.g., Ballester, Chatri, Sastre, Rivière, & Mullet, 2011; Suwartono, Prawasti, & Mullet, 2007). More specifically, researchers have proposed that forgiveness motives may vary as a function of whether cultures are more individualistic or collectivistic. For example, Sandage and Williamson (2005) have argued that in collectivistic cultures, people may be primarily motivated to forgive out of concern for others (so-called relationship motives and offender-focused motives) because in such cultures, people value maintaining harmony with group members and attach importance to their well-being. Conversely, people from individualistic cultures may be more motivated to forgive out of concern for the self (so-called self-focused motives), because they tend to value autonomy and attach more importance to their own well-being.

Nevertheless, it remains to be seen whether people in individualistic cultures will be primarily concerned with the self and whether concerns about others prevail in more collectivistic cultures. For example, Fischer and Schwartz (2011) examined in a series of studies among a wide range of different countries to what extent people across these countries differed in their emphasis on values associated with autonomy and relatedness and to what extent individuals within countries shared these values. Using data from different cross-national databases (e.g., the World Value Survey), they found that values linked to autonomy and relatedness varied much more between individuals than between countries. These findings call into question the idea that values that involve a concern for the self (e.g., autonomy)

should be typical of individualistic cultures and those that involve a concern for others (e.g., relatedness) should be characteristic of collectivistic cultures.

If cultures differ less in values such as autonomy and relatedness than what has generally been assumed, then it is possible that people in individualistic cultures may also be concerned about the relationship with the offender following an interpersonal conflict and thus be motivated to forgive for the sake of the relationship as well. This is also in line with the idea that maintaining positive relationships is a universal need (e.g., Schwartz, 1992), because having social ties is important to get things done and to receive care, protection or support of any kind (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Nevertheless, there is also reason to believe that people in individualistic cultures may rely on a smaller number of close relationship partners (Karremans et al., 2011; Schwartz, 1990). This could imply that they may be particularly likely to forgive these close others for the sake of the relationship, because they may be motivated to preserve those relations. In support of this idea, Strelan and colleagues (2013) found in Australia (a country that is considered to be more individualistic) that people who had experienced transgressions in close relationships were not only inclined to forgive out of concern for the self, but also because they wanted to maintain their relationship with the offender.

The findings of Fischer and Schwartz (2011) could further imply that people in collectivistic cultures may focus on the self as well following an interpersonal conflict, and hence forgive out of concern for the self too. Thus, although in such cultures people may generally value interconnectedness and harmonious relationships with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), they may also be motivated to let go of unpleasant feelings and reduce stress following a conflict as this may improve their emotional and cognitive well-being (e.g., Black, 2006; Witvliet, Ludwig, & Van der Laan, 2001). In support of this idea, there is indeed some evidence that suggests that people from collectivistic cultures may forgive not only out of concern for the relationship but out of concern for the self as well. A case in point is a study of Takada and Ohbuchi (2004) that was conducted among Japanese students. In this study, participants were asked to recall interpersonal episodes during which someone had harmed them and to rate their motives to forgive as well as how close their relationship was with the offender. The researchers found that motives involving both concern for the self (e.g., avoiding unpleasant feelings and maintaining a positive self-image) and concern for others (e.g., sympathy for the offender and maintaining a relationship with the offender) affected Japanese participants' motives to forgive, especially when the offender was someone they felt close to.

At present, however, we still know very little about whether and how people from more collectivistic or more individualistic cultures differ in the extent to which they endorse relationship motives, offender-focused motives and self-focused

motives. Only a few studies have compared forgiveness motives across cultures (e.g., Ballester et al., 2011; Suwartono et al., 2007) and these have not systematically examined to what extent motives that reflect a concern for the self, for the relationship and for the offender may vary both within and across cultures. Such comparisons are important, however, given that some of the studies mentioned above suggest that there may be more similarities in these motives than what is often assumed in cross-cultural research.

The aim of the present study is to address this and to examine whether the prevalence of different forgiveness motives is relatively similar across cultures or whether other-focused motives are more prevalent in collectivistic cultures and self-focused motives in individualistic cultures (as one would predict from an individualism-collectivism framework). For this purpose, we conducted a study in the Netherlands and in the archipelago 'the Moluccas' in Indonesia. Previous studies have shown that the Netherlands is relatively high on individualism and that Indonesia is relatively high on collectivism (e.g., Hofstede, 2001; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). In the Netherlands people also tend to prefer a loosely-knit social framework in which individuals are expected to take care of themselves and their immediate families only (Hofstede, Minkov, & Hofstede, 2014). By contrast, people in the Moluccas tend to rely strongly on a broad social network (including co-villagers) for care, protection and support (Von Benda-Beckmann, 2015).

In line with previous studies on forgiveness motives (e.g., Karremans, Van Lange, Ouwerkerk, & Kluwer, 2003), participants in this study were asked to recall a conflict whereby they had forgiven the other and they were asked to indicate why they had decided to forgive this person. We examined whether motives that focused on the self, the offender and on the relationship varied across the two cultures and we also examined the relative importance of these motives within these cultures. Given that people's motives to forgive may also depend on how close they are with their offender (e.g., Strelan et al., 2013; Takada & Ohbuchi, 2004), we examined whether the relative importance of these motives varied as a function of relationship closeness.

METHOD

Participants and design

A total of 112 participants from the Netherlands and the archipelago 'the Moluccas' (Indonesia) participated in the study. The Moluccan participants were inhabitants from the Isle of Ambon, which is part of the Moluccas. This island was

selected because of our networks on this island, which facilitated data collection. Participants in the Moluccas were recruited door-to-door in different villages by local research assistants. In the Netherlands, they were recruited within the social networks of research assistants. Given that this study only focused on people who had forgiven the offender, we excluded participants who indicated they had not forgiven the offender. This left us with a final sample of 92 participants. This sample consisted of 48 Moluccan (19 men, 29 women; M_{age} = 31.55, *SD* = 11.00) and 44 Dutch participants (25 men, 19 women; M_{age} = 35.48, *SD* = 14.35). Of the Moluccan participants, 14.9% had a low educational level, 66% had a medium educational level and 19.1% had a high educational level. Of the Dutch participants, 7.3% had a low, 61% a medium, and 31.7% a high educational level.

Procedure

Participants were asked to participate in a study on conflicts and forgiveness in daily life. They received an envelope that included a questionnaire. All research assistants agreed with the participants on a time about when to collect the completed questionnaire. As an introduction to the questionnaire, participants read that the purpose of the study was to examine how people deal with conflicts in their daily lives. They were asked to recall a severe conflict (i.e., a conflict that they could not easily forget) whereby they had forgiven the offender.

The recall task that was given to participants was based on the instructions of Karremans and colleagues (2003) and read as follows: "Every now and then, people have conflicts with someone. A conflict can be relatively mild (for example, a conflict that you easily forget), but it can also be severe (for example a conflict that you do not easily forget). We ask you to think about a severe conflict (which is a conflict that you do not easily forget) whereby you have forgiven the other person." In the close offender condition, participants then read: "This person was someone with whom you have or had a close relationship (for example a friend, parent, sibling, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, husband, wife, intimate partner)". In the non-close offender condition, participants read: "This person was someone that you did not know that well or not at all (for example an acquaintance, a neighbor, a student, a co-worker, a manager, a salesman, a stranger, etcetera)". Participants were then asked to think about a conflict for which the other person was to blame. It did not matter how long ago this conflict happened. Participants were instructed to take their time to recall this conflict and were informed that they did not have to describe the conflict.

Prior to the recall task, participants completed a questionnaire that assessed their personal background. After the recall task they were asked a number of questions about the conflict. Moluccan participants completed the questionnaire

in Indonesian whereas Dutch participants completed it in Dutch. Given that the majority of scale items in the questionnaire was originally written in English, the questionnaire was first translated from English into Indonesian and Dutch, and then back translated into English to check differences in interpretation. Translation from English into Indonesian was performed by two Indonesian native speakers and back translation from Indonesian into Dutch and English was performed by a translation service of an Indonesian university. We then checked whether the Dutch and Indonesian translation matched the English version. Given that the inhabitants on the Isle of Ambon use a local vocabulary and may not fully understand the translated questionnaire in Indonesian, the questionnaire was then adjusted to the Ambonese vocabulary. We also checked whether the Ambonese version of the questionnaire matched the Dutch one, which was indeed the case.

Measures

We checked to what extent people perceived themselves as more independent (which should be valued in more individualistic cultures) or interdependent (which should be emphasized in more collectivistic cultures). For this, we used a modified version of the Inclusion of Other in the Self scale (Swann, Gómez, Seyle, Morales, & Huici, 2009) that was originally developed by Aron, Aron and Smollan (1992). This is a single-item pictorial scale that measures people's sense of being interconnected with others and has been successfully used in cross-cultural research to examine how people define themselves in relation to others (e.g., Li, 2002). The modified version that we used consists of five pairs of circles that differ in their level of overlap between Self and Other, varying from no overlap (Other excluded from Self) to maximal overlap (Other included in Self). Participants were instructed to indicate which of these circle pairs best represented their relationship with others. The first circle was labeled as '1', which means that people do not include others in the self and indicates a more independent self. The fifth circle was labeled as '5', which means that there is a complete overlap with others, indicating that people have a more interdependent self.[1]

To obtain more insight into the circumstances of the conflict that participants recalled, they were asked to specify how long ago the conflict took place, how hurt they felt when the conflict happened (1 = not at all, 5 = extremely), what type of relationship they had with the offender (e.g., parent, stranger), how close they were with the offender before the conflict (1 = not close at all, 5 = very close),

[1] The questionnaire also contained the Horizontal and Vertical Individualism-Collectivism scale (Triandis & Gelfland, 1998). Nevertheless, the Cronbach's alpha of the subscales were very low to moderate for both samples (alpha's were between .13 and .75 for Dutch and between .17 and .53 for Moluccans). Because of the low alpha's, we decided not to include this scale in the analyses.

whether the offender asked for forgiveness (1 = not at all, 5 = very much), and to what extent they had forgiven the offender (1 = not at all, 5 = completely).

The main dependent variables were participants' motives to forgive. To assess this, we used the Focus of Forgiveness scale developed by Strelan and colleagues (2013). This scale assesses self-, offender- and relationship-focused motives to forgive and presents participants with a series of items that start with the tag: "I forgave because...". The *self-focus scale* consists of five items (e.g., it seemed to be a way to stop myself hurting", "to help myself get over what happened"). The *offender-focus scale* consists of four items (e.g., "I really felt for the other person", "despite what he/she did, I didn't want the other person to hurt"). The *relationship scale* also contains five items (e.g., "not forgiving would risk the relationship", "I wanted to maintain a good relationship"). All ratings were made using 5-point scales with endpoints labeled 1 (totally disagree) and 5 (totally agree). Cronbach's alpha for the self-focus scale was .66 for Moluccans and .74 for Dutch. Cronbach's alpha for the offender-focus scale was .67 for Moluccans and .78 for Dutch and for the relationship scale Cronbach's alpha was .48 for Moluccans and .86 for Dutch.

RESULTS

Descriptives

First, we examined to what extent people from the Netherlands and the Moluccas defined themselves as more independent or interdependent, using the Inclusion of Others in the Self scale. An independent samples t-test showed that Moluccan participants defined themselves as more interdependent (M = 4.46, SD = 0.86) than Dutch participants (M = 3.60, SD = 0.88), $t(87) = 4.62$, $p < .001$.

We also examined whether the conflicts that Moluccan and Dutch participants described were different or similar on a number of dimensions: how long ago the conflict took place, how hurt they felt during the conflict, to what extent the offender asked for forgiveness and how close they were with the offender before the conflict. An overview of the means can be found in Table 4.1. The conflicts that Moluccans described had taken place more recently than the conflicts that Dutch participants described, $t(70.12) = -2.31$, $p = .024$. Moluccans also felt more hurt during the conflict, $t(90) = 2.58$, $p = .012$, and they reported more closeness with the offender before the conflict than Dutch participants, $t(90) = 3.09$, $p = .003$. They also more often reported that the offender had asked for forgiveness than Dutch participants, $t(74.91) = 4.63$, $p < .001$.

Table 4.1. ***Means and standard deviations for the descriptives***

	Moluccan		Dutch	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Time since conflict (years)	1.84	2.55	2.65	3.72
Hurt feelings	4.02	1.08	3.45	1.02
Closeness before conflict	4.12	1.18	3.34	1.26
Offender asking forgiveness	3.33	1.69	2.02	0.94

We calculated the correlations (see Table 4.2) between the three forgiveness motives within the Dutch and Moluccan sample as well. In the Moluccan sample, the three motives were positively correlated with each other, *r*s > .51, *p*s < .001. In the Dutch sample, offender-focused motives were positively correlated with the self-focused motives ($r = .33$, $p = .029$) and the relationship motives ($r = .55$, $p < .001$).

Table 4.2. ***Means, standard deviations and correlations for forgiveness motives***

	Moluccan		Dutch				
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3
Self	4.16^{**}	0.49	3.01_{a}	0.79		$.33^{*}$	.14
Offender	3.98	0.57	2.64_{b}	0.95	$.54^{**}$		$.55^{**}$
Relationship	4.07^{***}	0.46	3.59_{c}	0.83	$.56^{**}$	$.52^{**}$	

Note. Means within the same column that do not share a subscript differ at $p < .05$ or beyond. An asterix represents a significant difference between cultural groups. Correlations above the diagonal refer to Dutch participants.

$^{*}p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$

Between-cultural differences in forgiveness motives

Before conducting the main analyses, we checked whether participants in the close offender condition recalled a conflict with someone they felt close to prior to the conflict and whether those in the non-close condition thought about someone they did not feel (very) close to. We found that part of the participants ($N = 26$) in the non-close offender condition recalled a conflict with someone they felt close or very close to prior to the conflict. Furthermore, some of the participants ($N = 3$) in the close offender condition remembered a conflict with someone they did not feel close to. For this reason, we decided to conduct the analyses with relationship closeness prior to the conflict as the moderator instead of the offender condition (close vs. non-close).

We conducted separate analyses for each of the three motives (self-focused motives, offender-focused motives and relationship motives), using PROCESS

(model 1; Hayes, 2013), with 5000 bootstrapping samples and 95% bias-corrected and accelerated confidence intervals. In a first set of analyses, we examined the effects of cultural group (0 = Moluccan, 1 = Dutch), relationship closeness and their interaction on the three forgiveness motives. The means for these analyses can be found in Table 4.2. Given that there were differences between the samples in how long ago the conflict took place, the extent to which participants felt hurt, and the extent to which offenders asked for forgiveness, we also performed additional analyses in which we controlled for these variables. In these analyses, we controlled for gender and age as well.

The analysis for the relationship motives revealed that Moluccan participants endorsed such motives more than Dutch participants, B = -1.34, SE = .40, p = .001. There was no significant effect of relationship closeness (p = .22), but there was a significant interaction between cultural group and relationship closeness, B = .28, SE = .10, p = .008, respectively. For Moluccan participants, relationship closeness did not affect the extent to which they endorsed relationship motives, B = .09, SE, = .07, p = .22. Dutch participants, however, were more likely to endorse relationship motives when they felt more close to the offender, B = .37, SE = .07, p < .001 (see Figure 4.1). Controlling for the covariates did not change this pattern of results and only one covariate (age) was significant, B = -.02, SE = .01, p = .004.

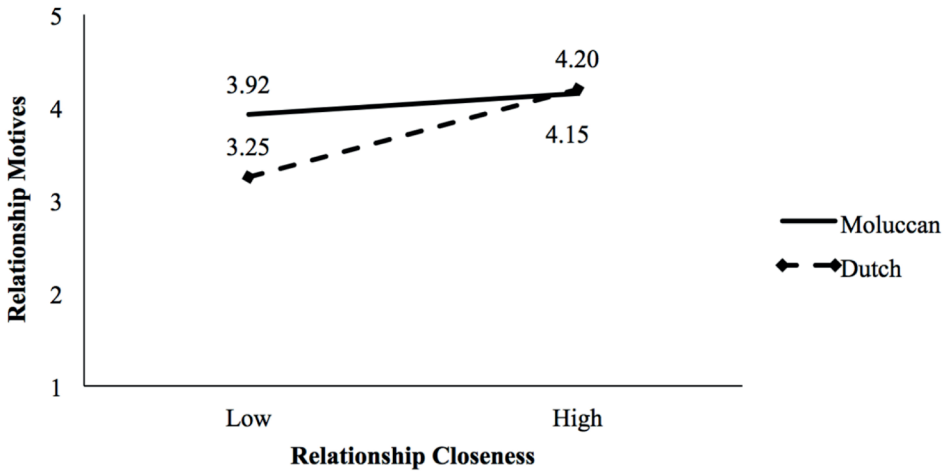

Figure 4.1. Relationship between relationship motives and relationship closeness for Moluccans and Dutch.

Moluccan participants also endorsed offender-focused motives more than Dutch participants, B = -2.20, SE = .50, p < .001. Nevertheless, this was qualified by a significant interaction between cultural group and relationship closeness, B = .27,

SE = .13, *p* = .035 (see Figure 4.2). An inspection of this interaction revealed that for Moluccan participants, their relationship with the offender did not impact the extent to which they endorsed offender-focused motives, *B* = .06, *SE* = .09, *p* = .54. Yet, Dutch participants were more likely to report these motives when the offender was someone they felt close to, *B* = .33, *SE* = .09, *p* < .001. Additional analyses that included the covariates revealed that none of the covariates was significant at the .05 level (*Bs* < .12, *ps* > .09).

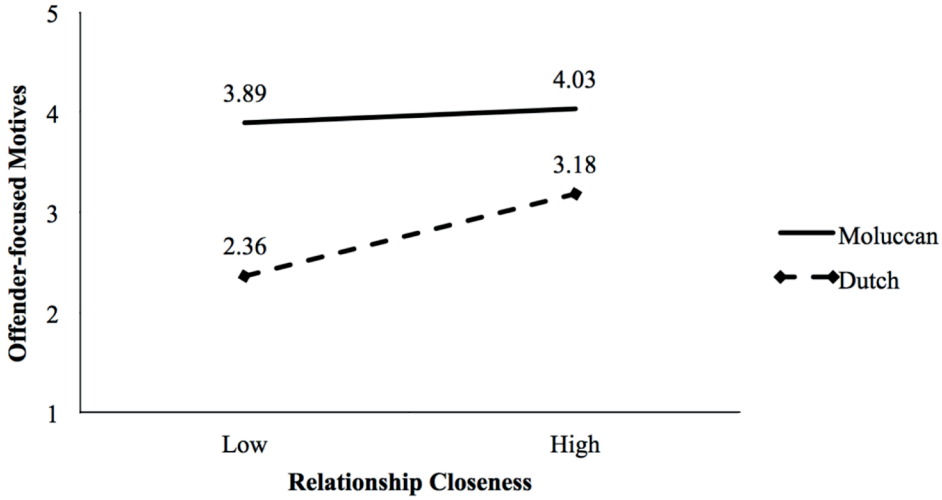

Figure 4.2. Relationship between offender-focused motives and relationship closeness for Moluccans and Dutch.

Finally, we found that Moluccan participants supported self-focused motives somewhat more than Dutch participants, *B* = -.85, *SE* = .45, *p* = .064. Nevertheless, we found that this difference (which did not reach conventional levels of significance) disappeared when we controlled for how hurt participants felt by the offender, *B* = .23, *SE* = .06, *p* < .001. No main effect was found of relationship closeness and there was also no interaction between cultural group and relationship closeness, *B* = .08, *SE* = .08, *p* = .35 and *B* = -.07, *SE* = .11, *p* = .54, respectively. See also Figure 4.3.[2]

[2] We conducted an additional set of analyses for each of the forgiveness motives, in which we controlled for the alternative motives. For the offender-focused motives, the interaction between cultural group and relationship closeness was no longer significant (*B* = .16, *p* = .17) when the self- and relationship motives were added as covariates. For the relationship motives, the interaction between cultural group and relationship closeness changed into a trend (*B* = .18, *p* = .052) and the main effect of cultural group disappeared (*B* = -.57, *p* = .16) when offender-focused motives were added. For the self-focused motives, the coefficient of cultural group was meaningfully reduced when offender-focused motives were added (*B* = -.04, *p* = .93).

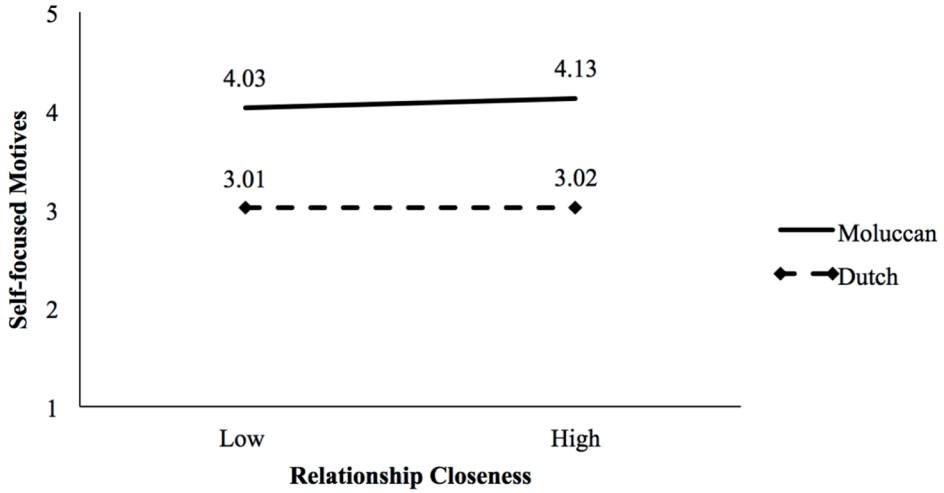

Figure 4.3. Relationship between self-focused motives and relationship closeness for Moluccans and Dutch.

Within-cultural differences in forgiveness motives

We also examined how important the three forgiveness motives were within each cultural group. To this end, we conducted a mixed ANCOVA with motives to forgive (self-focus, offender-focus, relationship) as the within-subjects factor, cultural group as the between-subjects factor, and relationship closeness as a covariate. The analysis revealed that the motives to forgive varied within cultures, $F(2, 168) = 16.98$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .17$ (see Table 4.2). Interestingly, contrast analyses indicated that Dutch participants endorsed relationship motives more than self-focused and offender-focused motives, $F(1, 85) = 21.86$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .205$ and $F(1, 85) = 77.99$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .479$, respectively. They did, however, endorse self-focused motives more than offender-focused motives, $F(1, 85) = 9.22$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = .098$. For the Moluccans we found no differences in the relative importance of the three forgiveness motives, $Fs < 2.35$, $ps > .13$. Additional analyses in which we controlled for the covariates not change this pattern of results.

Additional analyses with Inclusion of Others in the Self as potential mediator

Finally, we conducted an additional set of analyses to examine whether the relationship between cultural group and relationship closeness on the one hand and forgiveness motives on the other was mediated by the extent to which participants defined themselves as more independent or more interdependent (using the Inclusion of Others in the Self scale). For this purpose, we conducted a mediation analysis, using PROCESS (Model 8), with 5000 bootstrapping samples and 95% bias-corrected and accelerated confidence intervals to evaluate indirect effects. We

did not find any evidence, however, for the mediating role of Inclusion of Others in the Self for either the relationship motives (*B* = .01, *SE* = .02, 95% CI [-.01, .07]), the offender-focused motives (*B* = .00, *SE* = .01, 95% CI [-.01, .05]), or the self-focused motives (*B* = .00, *SE* = .01, 95% CI [-.01, .05]).

DISCUSSION

In this study we examined cross-cultural differences and similarities in people's motives to forgive. More specifically, we investigated whether forgiveness motives that involve a concern for others are more important to people who live in a more collectivistic culture, and whether forgiveness motives that involve a concern for the self are more important to those who live in a more individualistic culture. Given that people's motives to forgive may also vary as a function of how close they are with the offender, we included this factor in our study as well.

Our findings present a nuanced view on how people's motives to forgive may differ across cultures. On the one hand, it was found that relationship motives and offender-focused motives were more important for Moluccan participants than for Dutch participants, which is in line with the idea that harmony and relatedness are important in collectivistic cultures (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991). These cultural differences in relationship motives and offender-focused motives were moderated by relationship closeness. For Moluccan participants, feelings of closeness to the offender did not affect their motives to forgive. Dutch participants, however, were more likely to endorse relationship and offender-focused motives with close others than with non-close others.

On the other hand, the differences that we found between the samples could not be explained by the extent to which people defined themselves as more independent or interdependent (which we used as a proxy to assess more individualistic or collectivistic tendencies). In addition, our findings do not support the idea that in individualistic cultures, people are more motivated to forgive out of concern for the self than in collectivistic cultures (e.g., Sandage & Williamson, 2005). For example, we found that Moluccan and Dutch participants did not differ in the extent to which they endorsed self-focused motives, after controlling for how hurt they felt by the offender. Moreover, our within-culture comparisons showed that Dutch participants attached more importance to relationship motives than to self-focused motives, be it that they were more likely to forgive out of concern for the self than out of concern for the offender.

These findings call into question the idea that forgiveness motives that involve a concern for the self (personal well-being) should be particularly important to

people in individualistic cultures and that forgiveness motives that involve a concern for others (harmonious relationships and well-being of the offender) should be more relevant in collectivistic cultures. Instead, our findings suggest that in more collectivistic cultures people may also be motivated to protect their own well-being following transgressions, particularly when they feel hurt by the offender. This is in line with previous research by Takada and Ohbuchi (2004) who found that Japanese participants also endorsed self-focused forgiveness motives, and it is in line with the idea that protecting one's own well-being in stressful situations may be a basic human motive (e.g., Black, 2006). Furthermore, our findings suggest that in more individualistic cultures people can be motivated to maintain harmonious relationships following transgressions as well, particularly with those who are close to them. This may reflect a universal need to belong, because having social ties is a basic necessity for people to achieve goals, to fulfill their tasks, or to feel protected (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Schwartz, 1992).

Interestingly, however, we did find that relationship closeness played a less important role in people's motives to forgive in the Moluccan sample than in the Dutch sample. This finding is in line with recent studies that suggest that in collectivistic cultures, forgiveness may depend less on the nature of people's relationship with the offender (e.g., Karremans et al., 2011). According to Karremans and colleagues, this is because social harmony is such an important norm in these cultures and because people are likely to have internalized these norms. In the Moluccas, the distinction between close and non-close others may also play a less prominent role in people's motives to forgive because they tend to rely strongly on a broad social network (including co-villagers) for care, protection and support (Von Benda-Beckmann, 2015).

Yet, when interpreting the results several caveats have to be borne in mind as well. For example, we asked participants to recall a severe conflict and such a method may be prone to recall biases. Of particular importance here is that people's responses may have been influenced by the outcome of the forgiveness process (e.g., that they felt less hurt), making it more difficult to adequately distinguish between forgiveness motives and forgiveness outcomes. Furthermore, we did not ask participants to specify the nature of the conflict. Yet, it is possible that there may be cultural differences in how people perceive a transgression or conflict, which may in turn also affect their motives to forgive (Ho & Fung, 2011). In addition, it is possible that our Moluccan participants scored higher on the different motives to forgive because forgiveness is the norm in their culture, not because they actually experienced forgiveness in an emotional sense (e.g., Hook, Worthington, & Utsey, 2009). This is an issue that needs to be addressed in future studies as well. It is also important to keep in mind that our samples were

relatively small, so more studies should be done to see to what extent the present results can be generalized.

Nevertheless, this study is among the first to examine forgiveness motives through a cross-cultural lens and we believe that the current findings provide a meaningful contribution to present research and theorizing on this topic. Our findings suggest that, even though relationship and offender-focused motives are more strongly endorsed by people from collectivistic cultures than by people from individualistic cultures, the latter are not primarily guided by self-focused motives when they decide to forgive. Even though they tend to be less concerned about the offender than about the self, they are more motivated to forgive out of concern for the relationship than out of concern for the self, particularly when the offender is close to them. Our results also indicate that differences in the extent to which people endorse such motives cannot be explained by a more independent (individualistic) or interdependent (collectivistic) conception of self. Instead, the findings with respect to the role of relationship closeness point to the possibility that close-knittedness and average levels of interdependence within a community may be a more important determinant of people's motives to forgive than individual conceptions of self. Future studies should seek to examine in more depth whether and how the degree of interdependence within a community affects people's motives to forgive those who have offended them.

Chapter 5

Motives to (not) forgive deviant group members: A comparison within and between cultures

This chapter is based on:

Huwaë, S., & Schaafsma, J.(under review). Motives to (not) forgive deviant group members: A comparison within and between cultures. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology.*

INTRODUCTION

As members of social groups, people can experience considerable distress when other group members violate important norms. Think for example of a church member who maliciously gossips about the pastor or a treasurer of a neighborhood association who uses public money for private holiday trips. Such transgressions may be stressful to group members and may also pose a threat to the identity of or cohesion in the group (e.g., Brown, Wohl, & Exline, 2008; Piff, Martinez, & Keltner, 2011). In this regard, several studies on transgressions within social groups have shown that people can perceive these transgressions as threatening to their self-image or their identity and that they may also result in unpleasant feelings such as shame or anger (e.g., Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel, 2007; Johns, Schmader, & Lickel, 2005).

When important group norms have been violated, people may or may not be motivated to forgive the deviant group member. At present, however, we know very little about these motives. Although researchers have begun to explore why people forgive (e.g., McCullough, Fincham, & Tsang, 2003; Strelan, McKee, Calic, Cook, & Shaw, 2013), they have generally considered forgiveness as an intra- or interpersonal process. From this perspective, people may forgive because it benefits the self, the offender, or their relationship. Yet, when norms have been violated by ingroup members, concerns about the group may become important as well, particularly because people identify with their groups (Biernat, Vescio, & Billings, 1999). For example, research on ingroup transgressions demonstrates that people can become hostile toward ingroup members who violate important group norms, because they want to protect the group from the threat that the ingroup deviant poses to their social identity (e.g., Branscombe, Wann, Noel, & Coleman, 1993). Such concerns about the group and the group's identity could possibly motivate people to not forgive ingroup deviants for their actions.

In the present study, we set out to examine people's motives to (not) forgive those who have violated an important cultural norm, and to explore whether (in addition to intrapersonal and interpersonal motives) concerns about the group (which we labeled 'group' motives) also play a role in this regard. For this purpose, we conducted a study in the Moluccan archipelago in Indonesia. One important feature of the Central and South Moluccas is an intervillage alliance system, called 'pela', that aims to form, maintain or restore harmonious relationships between two or more villages (Bartels, 1977). Pela plays an important role in developing and sustaining a common ethnic identity in the Central and South Moluccas (e.g., Braüchler, 2009). A central norm within this alliance system is that pela members are not allowed to marry descendants from or inhabitants of an allied

village.[3] We examined why people would or would not forgive group members who have violated this marital prohibition and how important group motives are in this regard, relative to motives that are focused on the self, the relationship, or the offender.

We also wanted to obtain a better understanding of how the cultural context may shape people's responses to ingroup deviants. Based upon research on ingroup deviants and the black sheep effect (e.g., Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988), one could make the case that group motives may play a negative role in forgiveness processes when the group plays a central role in people's lives (e.g., Hornsey, Jetten, McAuliffe, & Hogg, 2006). Along similar lines, it could be argued that such motives should be particularly important in settings that are more collectivistic, because complying with cultural norms and maintaining group harmony is likely to be a more important goal here than in individualistic settings, where there may be more tolerance for deviance (e.g., Hornsey et al., 2006; Kim & Markus, 1999). At the same time, however, this desire to maintain harmony could also have positive effects on people's decision to forgive, and motivate them to grant forgiveness for the sake of the relationship or the offender (e.g., Fu, Watkins, & Hui, 2004; Hook et al., 2013; Hook, Worthington, Utsey, Davis, & Burnette, 2012; Hui & Bond, 2009). At present, it is unclear which motives are primary when people decide to (not) forgive ingroup deviants, and how this varies as a function of whether they live in cultural settings that are more collectivistic or individualistic.

To examine the role of such contextual factors on people's motives to (not) forgive, we not only focused on pela members in Indonesia (a collectivistic setting) but we also included pela members who live in a more individualistic setting (the Netherlands) and whose parents or grandparents immigrated to this country in the 1950s or 1960s (Smeets & Steijlen, 2006). These Moluccan immigrants were mostly soldiers of the former Dutch colonial army and they were transferred with their families to the Netherlands, due to frictions in the decolonization process of Indonesia. Although Dutch Moluccans in the Netherlands still tend to regard pela as an important symbol of Moluccan identity and of unity (Bartels, 1985; Smeets & Steijlen, 2006), they also live in a setting that is more individualistic (Hofstede, 2001) and where pela norms may have become less important.

Pela and marital prohibition

Pela is an alliance that Moluccan ancestors from one or more villages formed with people from other villages and dates from the time (between the fifteenth and sixteenth century) when people headhunted and villages on the Moluccan isles

[3] Note that not all intervillage alliances have marital prohibition as a social norm.

were often at war with each other. In those days pela between villages was formed for several reasons: for trade purposes, to prevent war, to stimulate friendships or to preserve family ties. Thus, in a sense, pela provided heads of villages a powerful tool to restore peace, to prevent conflict or to foster relationships with other villages (e.g., Bartels, 1977; Braüchler, 2009). To this day, confederates of most pela alliances address each other as "Pela" (e.g., uncle Pela Minggoes, grandma Pela Beth).

Like many other alliances, pela has customs and rules of conduct or cultural norms, called 'adat pela'. A salient and important cultural norm of pela is marital prohibition, which stipulates that descendants from and inhabitants of one village are forbidden to marry descendants from or inhabitants of a pela allied village (e.g., Hilkhuijsen, Leatomu, & Wassing-Visser, 1984). Marital prohibition generally means that people are also prohibited to have a love affair with a Pela. Violating this marital prohibition can result in corporal punishment, disinheritance, ostracism, avoidance or a pronunciation of a curse by family members (e.g., Huwaë, 1996; Strijbosch, 1985). These sanctions can be imposed on members to preserve the adat pela. Up until now, inhabitants and descendants from allied villages in the Moluccas generally conform to this marital prohibition (Braüchler, 2009), whereas in the Netherlands this norm seems to be considered more as a guideline rather than an absolute prohibition (Voutz & Rinsampessy, 2008)

Motives to not forgive deviant group members: concerns about the group

Pela still plays a key role in holding Moluccan communities together as it functions as a mechanism to foster relationships and to promote reconciliation (e.g., Bartels, 1977; Braüchler, 2009). A case in point is one of the most violent conflicts that took place in the Moluccas in the period of 1999 to 2003. These conflicts were fought out mainly between Christians and Muslims. During these conflicts, also known as the 'Kerusuhan' (riots), pela became one of the primary means to build interreligious bridges and a common Moluccan identity, and to prevent any future disruption along religious lines (Braüchler, 2009). Given the central role of pela in the Moluccas, one might expect that people in the Moluccas are particularly concerned about the cultural group (e.g., protection of group identity, group harmony, or group values) when someone violates a central norm of pela. This may motivate them to not forgive those who violate the pela norm, since they threaten the unity of pela as a social group. In this regard, researchers have also found that group members who are highly identified with their group, evaluate a disloyal ingroup member who represents a threat to their identity more negatively than weakly identified members (Branscombe et al., 1993).

For Moluccans in the Netherlands, pela still seems to be a symbol of their Moluccan identity and unity (Bartels, 1990; Huwaë, 1996). The uniqueness of pela within the Moluccan culture appears to give people a feeling of distinctiveness and pride, which is important to face everyday challenges as a distinct group in a multi-ethnic society such as the Netherlands (Bartels, 1990). Nevertheless, there is also reason to believe that Moluccans who live in the Netherlands now attach less importance to the norms and values associated with pela than those in the homeland (e.g., Von Benda-Beckmann, 2015; Voutz & Rinsampessy, 2008). For example, a qualitative study on pela marital prohibition in the Netherlands indicates that important norms of pela such as unconditionally giving away personal belongings when a Pela asks for it, may have become less prominent (Huwaë, 2001). In addition, Voutz and Rinsampessy (2008) have suggested that in the Netherlands, marital prohibition no longer seems to be considered mandatory but rather voluntary as Dutch Moluccans increasingly tend to believe that people should decide for themselves what is best for them. This latter finding also suggests that for Moluccans in the Netherlands, independence has become more important, which may affect the extent to which they are concerned about group values and preserving group harmony as well. Thus, we expect that group motives play a less important role for Dutch Moluccans than for Indonesian Moluccans, because the customs and rules of pela are less important in their everyday lives and also because they may have become more individualistic.

Motives to forgive deviant group members: Concerns about the relationship, the offender, and the self

Even though concerns about the group's identity may motivate people to not forgive those who have violated an important cultural norm (such as the pela marital prohibition in this study), there may also be various reasons why they may decide to forgive an ingroup deviant in such a situation. For example, researchers have pointed out that people may be motivated to forgive because they want to maintain a positive relationship with the transgressor (so-called relationship motives), because they feel compassion for him or her (so-called offender-focused motives) or because they want to protect the self (so-called self-focused motives) (e.g., Hook et al., 2009; Strelan et al., 2013).

Although little research has studied these motives across cultures, it has been argued that relationship and offender-focused motives should be particularly important in collectivistic settings (such as the Moluccas in Indonesia), because people in such contexts tend to value harmony and should also be sensitive to the well-being of others (Hook et al., 2009; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Sandage & Williamson, 2005). Researchers have also made the case that in more individualistic settings

(such as the Netherlands), self-focused motives should be more important because people here tend to focus more on the maintenance of their own well-being. Thus, they should be more motivated to let go of unpleasant feelings and reduce stress following a transgression (e.g., Sandage & Williamson, 2005).

So far, however, studies that focused on motives to forgive have been conducted in individualistic cultures and the few studies that have been conducted in collectivistic cultures (e.g., Takada & Ohbuchi, 2004) do not yield a clear picture, because they suggest that in such cultures self-focused motives may be important as well. For example, Takada and Ohbuchi (2004) found that Japanese participants were not only motivated to forgive an offender out of concern for this person or their relationship, but also out of concern for the self (e.g., to maintain a positive self-image), especially when the offender was someone they felt close to. In addition, we found in our previous study (Chapter 4) that Dutch and Moluccan participants did not differ in how important self-focused motives were. We also found that for Dutch participants self-focused motives were less important than relationship motives whereas these motives were equally important to Moluccan participants. For this reason, we examined the relative importance of relationship motives, offender-focused motives and self-focused motives, compared with group motives for people in individualistic and collectivistic cultures when a group member violates a cultural norm.

The present study

To summarize, the aim of the present study is to investigate people's motives to (not) forgive group members who have violated an important cultural norm, and to examine to what extent so-called 'group motives' play a role in this regard as well. More specifically, we examined whether for Indonesian Moluccans such motives play a more important role than for Dutch Moluccans, and whether this is mediated by how important the group (in this case: pela) is in their everyday lives. We also investigated how important group, relationship, offender-focused, and self-focused motives are within and across the two settings and whether differences in this regard can be explained by the extent to which people define themselves as more interdependent (which should be more prevalent in collectivistic cultures) or more independent (which should be more typical of people in individualistic cultures). Participants across the two samples were asked to evaluate a situation in which either a close or a non-close other violated the pela marital prohibition. We distinguished between close and non-close others because previous studies (e.g., Karremans et al 2011; Strelan et al., 2013) suggest that people's relationship with transgressor may play a role in their motives to forgive, so we wanted to take this possibility into account as well.

METHOD

Participants and design

All participants were members of a pela alliance between the villages Allang and Latuhalat. These villages are located on the Isle of Ambon, which is situated in the Indonesian archipelago 'the Moluccas'. A total of 193 pela members participated in the study. Of these participants, 100 participants live on the isle of Ambon (39 men, 61 women; M_{age} = 36.28, SD = 10.44) and 93 participants live in the Netherlands (40 men, 53 women; M_{age} = 46.87, SD = 11.64).[4] Of the participants in the Moluccas, 13.5% had no diploma, 27.1% had a low educational level, 50% had a medium educational level and 9.4% had a high educational level. Of the participants in the Netherlands, 1.1% had no diploma, 19.8% had a low, 45.1% a medium, and 34.1% a high educational level. Below, we will refer to participants who live in the Moluccas as 'Indonesian Moluccans' and to those who live in the Netherlands as 'Dutch Moluccans'.

The study had a 2 (cultural setting: Indonesian or Dutch) x 2 (type of relationship with the ingroup deviant: close or non-close) design. In the close condition, the ingroup deviant was a brother (or a brother-in-law) or a sister (or a sister-in-law), whichever applied to participants' own situation. Note that in the Moluccan culture, brother- and sister-in-law are considered important members of the family, to whom the family feels committed and with whom they share care and support (Hilkhuijsen et al., 1984). In the non-close condition, the ingroup deviant was someone from the same place of origin (i.e., Allang or Latuhalat) whom participants did not know that well or not at all.

Procedure

Participants on the isle of Ambon were recruited door-to-door in different villages by two local research assistants. Participants were asked to participate in a research on their pela alliance (i.e., between the village Allang and Latuhalat), but only after the research assistants had checked whether they considered themselves a member of this particular intervillage alliance. To diminish potential non-independence of the data, a maximum of two persons per household were allowed to participate

[4] Of the participants who lived on the isle of Ambon, a total of 41 participants originated from the village Allang, 36 participants originated from the village Latuhalat, and 23 participants originated from another village but were member of this pela alliance via their husband or wife (N =100). Participants in the Netherlands had either both parents or one parent with a Moluccan origin. Those with one Moluccan parent had another parent of Dutch origin (N = 4) but considered themselves a member of this pela alliance. A total of 40 participants originated from the village Allang, 45 participants originated from the village Latuhalat, and 8 participants were member of this pela alliance via their (great)grandparents from either their mother's or father's genealogical line (N = 93).

in this study. Participants received an envelope that included a questionnaire and were instructed to complete the questionnaire individually and to not discuss the study with other people, at least until after completion. The research assistants then made an appointment to collect the completed questionnaire within a week.

Participants in the Netherlands were recruited by the researcher and a research assistant via club meetings of members who share the same place of origin (i.e., the village Allang or Latuhalat), via social media and via social network sites. An envelope containing the questionnaire and a stamped envelope was handed over to those who considered themselves to be a pela member of the intervillage alliance in question and who wanted to participate in the study. Participants who were recruited through social media were asked to email their postal address so that the questionnaire could be send to them. Given that some participants were reluctant to give their postal address, we decided to administer the questionnaire online as well. In the end, 85 participants in the Netherlands completed a paper questionnaire and 8 participants completed the questionnaire online. Participants were asked to return the questionnaire within two weeks, and received a reminder via email.

As an introduction to the questionnaire, participants were informed that the purpose of the study was to examine how people appraise a situation where someone from their pela alliance has a love affair with another member (a Pela) from an allied village. Participants in the close ingroup deviant condition read the following scenario: "Your *brother (-in-law), or sister (-in-law)* is having a love affair with a Pela. The couple knows that both families are against this relationship, but the couple still continues this relationship". In the non-close ingroup deviant condition, participants were asked to imagine that "*Someone from your place of origin, whom you do not know that well or not at all*" was having a love affair with a Pela.

Moluccan participants completed the questionnaire in Indonesian, whereas Dutch Moluccan participants completed it in Dutch. As the majority of scale items in the questionnaire were originally written in English, we followed the same standard practice for translation and back translation of instruments as in the previous chapter.

Measurements

After participants had read the scenario, they were asked to answer a number of statements that measured their motives to forgive or not to forgive the transgressor. These motives were presented in a mixed order. All ratings were made using 5-point scales with endpoints labeled 1 (strongly disagree) and 5 (strongly agree).

To assess to what extent group motives played a role in the forgiveness process, participants were asked to rate their agreement with a set of items that were related to their identity and the norms and values of their group (e.g., "I would not forgive this person to protect my Moluccan identity", "I would not forgive this person to protect my Moluccan norms and values"). For an overview of the items, see Appendix 5.1. To check the dimensionality of this scale, an exploratory factor analysis with direct oblimin rotation was conducted. This analysis resulted in one factor solution in which all 10 items loaded above .72. This factor accounted for 64.14% of the total variance, so the items were integrated into a *group scale*. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .88 for Indonesian Moluccans and .96 for Dutch Moluccans. A high score on this scale reflects that group motives play a relatively important role in the forgiveness process.

To assess to what extent participants endorsed relationship, offender-focused and self-focused motives, we used the Focus of Forgiveness scale of Strelan and colleagues (2013) that we also used for our previous study in Chapter 4. The *relationship scale* consisted of five items (e.g., "I would forgive this person, because maintaining a good relationship is important to me"). We used four items of the *offender scale* (e.g., "I would forgive this person, because I would truly feel sorry for this person"). The *self-focus scale* consisted of five items (e.g., "I would forgive this person so I do not feel hurt anymore"). The Cronbach's alpha for the *relationship scale* was .82 for Indonesian Moluccans and .94 for Dutch Moluccans. Cronbach's alpha for the *offender-focus scale* was .83 for Indonesian Moluccans and .87 for Dutch Moluccans, for the *self-focus scale* Cronbach's alpha was .87 for Indonesian Moluccans and .88 for Dutch Moluccans. A high score on these scales also indicates that these motives are relatively important in the forgiveness process.

To examine the importance of pela, we asked participants how important pela Allang-Latuhalat is in their life. They rated this question using a 5-point Likert scale with endpoints labeled 1 (not important at all) and 5 (very important).

To establish whether people define themselves in more independent or more interdependent terms we used an adapted version of the original Inclusion of Others in the Self scale (Swann, et al., 2009) developed by Aron and colleagues (1992). This scale, which was also used in the previous chapter, is a single-item pictorial scale that measures people's sense of being interconnected with others. To determine the degree of forgiveness, we also asked participants to what extent they would forgive this person. They rated this question using a 5-point Likert scale with endpoints labeled 1 (not forgive at all) and 5 (completely forgive).

RESULTS

Descriptives

Given that our study is (to our knowledge) among the first to examine forgiveness motives following norm violations, we used an alpha level of .10. First, we examined whether participants across the two samples differed in how important pela is. The analysis confirmed that pela played a more important role in the lives of Moluccans in Indonesia (M = 4.63, SD = 0.78) than in the lives of those in the Netherlands (M = 4.15, SD = 1.02), $t(167.68) = 3.57$, $p < .001$. We also found (using the Inclusion of Others in Self scale) that participants in Indonesia (M = 4.07, SD = 1.23) had a stronger sense of interconnectedness or interdependence with others than those in the Netherlands (M = 3.51, SD = 1.14), $t(188) = 3.25$, $p = .001$.

Furthermore, we checked whether the samples differed in their willingness to forgive the ingroup deviant. A two-way ANOVA with cultural setting and relationship closeness (in terms of close other vs. non-close other) as independent variables suggests that pela members in the Netherlands were more inclined to forgive the ingroup deviant (M = 3.49, SD = 1.20) than those in Indonesia (M = 3.15, SD = 1.26), $F(1, 187) = 3.85$, $p = .051$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. There was no effect of relationship closeness, nor was there an interaction between cultural setting and relationship closeness, Fs < 1.38, ps > .24, η_p^2s < .008.

We also assessed the correlations between the four forgiveness motives for Indonesian Moluccans and Dutch Moluccans separately. Within the Indonesian Moluccan sample, group motives were negatively related to motives that focused on the relationship, the offender, and the self, rs < -.29, ps < .004. However, relationship motives were positively related to offender-focused and self-focused motives, rs > .62, ps < .001. In the Dutch Moluccan sample, no correlations were found between group motives and the other three motives, rs > -.08, ps > .27, but we did find positive correlations between the relationship, offender-focused, and self-focused motives, rs > .72, ps < .001. An overview of these correlations is presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. ***Means, standard deviations, and correlations for forgiveness motives***

	Indonesian		Dutch					
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4
1. Group	2.96_{a}	0.72	2.35_{a}^{*}	0.95		- .08	-.00	.12
2. Relationship	3.43_{b}	0.73	3.01_{b}^{*}	1.02	$-.30^{**}$		$.81^{**}$	$.77^{**}$
3. Offender	3.52_{b}	0.78	3.23_{c}^{*}	1.01	$-.39^{**}$	$.76^{**}$		$.72^{**}$
4. Self	3.43_{b}	0.81	2.78_{d}^{***}	0.89	$-.39^{**}$	$.62^{**}$	$.65^{**}$	

Note. A higher mean score indicates that a motive was more important in people's decision to (not) forgive. An asterix represents a significant difference between cultural settings. Means in the same column that do not share a subscript differ at $p < .01$ or $p < .001$. Correlations in the lower level of the matrix belong to Indonesian Moluccans and in the upper level to Dutch Moluccans.
$^{*}p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$

Motives to (not) forgive deviant group members across and within cultural settings

To examine whether our samples differed in their motives to (not) forgive and to establish what the relative importance is of these motives within the Indonesian and Dutch setting, we conducted a 2 X 2 X 4 mixed ANCOVA with cultural setting (Indonesian, Dutch) and relationship closeness (close, non-close) as between-subjects factors, and the forgiveness motives (group, relationship, offender-focused and self-focused) as the within-subjects factor. Given that participants in the Netherlands were somewhat more inclined to forgive than those in Indonesia, we included this variable as a covariate. This covariate was significant in all analyses.

In terms of differences *between* cultural settings, we found a significant main effect of cultural setting, $F(1, 181) = 33.81$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .16$ (see Table 5.1 for an overview of the unadjusted means). As expected, contrast analyses revealed that Indonesian Moluccans were more likely to not forgive a deviant group member out of concern for the group than Dutch Moluccans. Yet, they were also more likely to forgive for the benefit of the relationship and the offender, Fs > 4.62, ps < .034, η_p^2s > .02. Remarkably, they also endorsed self-focused motives more than Dutch Moluccan participants, $F(1, 184) = 27.73$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$. No significant main effect was found for relationship closeness, nor did we find an interaction between cultural setting and relationship closeness, Fs < 1.70, ps > .20, η_p^2s < .01.

With regard to differences *within* the cultural settings, the interaction between cultural setting and the forgiveness motives revealed a trend, $F(3, 369) = 3.00$, $p = .050$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Contrast analysis revealed that for Indonesian Moluccans, relationship, offender-focused, and self-focused motives were more important than group motives, Fs > 13.48, ps < .001, η_p^2s > .06. We found no differences in the extent to which they endorsed relationship motives, offender-focused motives

or self-focused motives, Fs < 2.00, ps > .15. For Dutch Moluccans, group motives also played a less important role and they were more likely to forgive out of concern for the relationship, the offender or the self, Fs > 11.20, ps < .01, η_p^2s > .06. Remarkably, however, they also attached more importance to offender-focused motives than to relationship motives and self-focused motives, $F(1, 184) = 12.61$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$ and $F(1, 184) = 44.49$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .20$, respectively. In addition, they endorsed relationship motives more than self-focused motives, $F(1, 184) = 13.35$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$.

The mixed ANOVA also revealed a trend for the interaction between cultural setting and relationship closeness, $F(3, 369) = 2.78$, $p = .063$ $\eta_p^2 = .02$ (see Table 5.2). Contrast analyses showed that Dutch Moluccans attached more importance to relationship motives when the ingroup deviant was a close other than a non-close other, $F(1, 185) = 10.76$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. The extent to which they endorsed group motives and motives that focused on the offender or the self did not depend on who the ingroup deviant was, Fs < 1.82, ps > .18. For the Indonesian Moluccans, the relative importance of the four motives did not vary as a function of whether the ingroup deviant was a close or a non-close other, Fs < .14, ps > .70.

Table 5.2. ***Means and standard deviations for forgiveness motives as a function of cultural setting and relationship closeness***

	Indonesian		Dutch	
	Close	Non-close	Close	Non-close
Group	2.98 (0.70)	2.94 (0.76)	2.23 (0.90)	2.45 (0.99)
Relationship	3.43 (0.69)	3.44 (0.78)	3.31 (0.87)	2.74 (1.08)*
Offender	3.51 (0.72)	3.53 (0.84)	3.38 (0.86)	3.10 (1.12)
Self	3.49 (0.68)	3.37 (0.92)	2.92 (0.79)	2.64 (0.96)

Note. Standard deviations are in parentheses. An asterix represents a significant difference between the close and non-close condition within a cultural setting.
*$p < .05$

Differences in group motives across cultural settings and importance of the group

In a follow-up analysis, we examined whether differences between Indonesian Moluccans and Dutch Moluccans in the endorsement of group motives could be explained by how important pela is for them. For this purpose, we conducted a mediation analysis using PROCESS (Model 4, Hayes, 2013), with the importance of pela as a mediator. We included the degree of forgiveness as well as the ingroup deviant condition (close vs. non-close) as covariates. We selected 5000 bootstrapping samples and 95% bias-corrected and accelerated confidence intervals to evaluate indirect effects. This analysis revealed an indirect effect of cultural

setting through importance of pela on group motives (B = .09, SE = .04), with a 95% bootstrap confidence interval that was estimated to lie between 0.03 and 0.17. Thus, these results indicate that Indonesian Moluccans were more likely to not forgive out of concern for the group than Dutch Moluccans and that this was related to how important the pela alliance was for them.

As an additional check, we examined whether the importance of pela also mediated the relationship between cultural setting and the other three motives (relationship, offender-focused and self-focused). Separate analyses for each of these motives revealed that this was not the case. We did not find indirect effects of importance of pela on motives that concerned the relationship (B = -.01, SE = .04, 95% CI [-.08, .06]), offender (B = .04, SE = .04, 95% CI [-.02, .14]) or the self (B = .04, SE = .04, 95% CI [-.01, .13]).

Cultural setting, forgiveness motives and the role of independent self and interdependent self

Finally, we examined whether people's self-definition (as either more independent or more interdependent) mediated the relationship between cultural setting and the various motives to (not) forgive, controlling for relationship closeness (close vs. non-close) and degree of forgiveness. For this, we again used PROCESS (Model 4), and we included the Inclusion of Others in Self scale as a mediator. The analysis did not reveal indirect effects of Inclusion of Others in the Self scale on group motives (B = .04, SE = .03, 95% CI [-.01, .12]), relationship motives (B = -.02, SE = .03, 95% CI [-.09, .04]), offender-focused motives (B = -.02, SE = .03, 95% CI [-.09, .04]), or self-focused motives (B = .01, SE = .03, 95% CI [-.05, .08]). Thus, the extent to which participants defined themselves as more independent or more interdependent did not mediate the relationship between cultural setting and the endorsement of the four forgiveness motives.

DISCUSSION

In the past years, researchers have started to examine why people forgive others following interpersonal transgressions. These studies generally assume that people forgive because it benefits the self, the offender, or the relationship. Nevertheless, transgressions can also occur within groups, for example when group members violate important cultural norms. In such a situation, concerns about the group (e.g., group identity) may actually motivate people to not forgive a deviant group member. In the present study, we examined how important these motives (group-, relationship-, offender- and self-focused) are across and within different cultural

settings, and whether this depends on how important the group is and on the cultural context (i.e., more collectivistic or more individualistic).

Our findings suggest that concerns about the group may motivate people to not forgive deviant group members, particularly when their social identity is at stake. We found that Indonesian Moluccans were more likely to not forgive people who violate a group norm (i.e., the pela marital prohibition) because pela as an intervillage alliance system was more important to them. This finding is in line with research on ingroup transgressions, which suggests that people who identify more with a group respond negatively to group members who violate core values of that group (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1993; Hornsey et al., 2006). In the Moluccan context, such threats to the pela identity are likely to be of particular concern to people because pela is an important mechanism to prevent conflict or to reconcile with people from other villages and hence plays a central part in holding Moluccan communities together (e.g., Braüchler, 2009). This may also help explain why we found a negative relationship between the group motives and (inter)personal motives in the Indonesian sample, but not in the Dutch sample. For participants in the Netherlands, pela norms appear to be less important, possibly due to acculturation processes and because customs and rules of pela may no longer fit in the Dutch context and gradually lose their significance (e.g., Huwaë, 2001; Oostindie, 2010).

We also found, however, that people exhibited a stronger tendency to forgive an ingroup deviant out of concern for this person or out of concern for their relationship with this person. This suggests that, even when important group norms have been violated, interpersonal concerns are more likely to prevail than concerns about the group. Although from a group-level perspective this may not seem adaptive, people's motive to maintain relationships with deviant ingroup members could be beneficial in the long run because it may help preserve cooperative ties or cohesion within the group (e.g., Finkel, Rusbult, Kumashiro, & Hannon, 2002; McCullough, 2008; Yuki, 2003). It is possible, however, that the extent to which interpersonal concerns prevail also depends on the specific norm that has been violated. For example, concerns about the group may become more important when the norm violation has direct negative implications for the attainment of highly valued group goals (e.g., Biernat et al., 1999). In such a situation, the benefit of protecting the group may eventually outweigh the benefit of preserving one's relationship with a deviant ingroup member. This may be particularly the case when the larger group is willing and able to not only punish (e.g., ostracize) the ingroup deviant but also those who are closely associated with him or her.

Of importance is that differences between the samples in the relative prevalence of the different motives to (not) forgive could not be explained by the extent to

which participants defined themselves as more independent (which is likely to be more prevalent in individualistic settings) or interdependent (which is considered more important in collectivistic settings). Similar results were also obtained in the previous chapter. Other findings also did not fit within an individualism-collectivism framework. For example, although we did find that Indonesian Moluccans attached more importance to relationship and offender-focused motives than Dutch Moluccans, they also endorsed self-focused motives more than participants in the Netherlands. In addition, our within-group comparisons showed that Dutch Moluccans endorsed offender-focused and relationship motives more than self-focused motives. Although we do not have a clear explanation for why self-focused motives were more important in the Moluccan than in the Dutch sample, it is possible that Dutch Moluccans felt less affected or less hurt by a violation of the marital inhibition. We can also not rule out the possibility that Indonesian Moluccan participants reported stronger endorsement of both intrapersonal and interpersonal norms because forgiveness is generally expected from them (e.g., Karremans et al., 2011). We should also note, however, that other studies on forgiveness motives (see Chapter 4 as well) also did not find clear support for the idea that concerns about the self prevail in more individualistic cultures and that concerns about the relationship are more important in collectivistic cultures (Takada & Ohbuchi, 2004; Strelan et al., 2013)

The fact that Dutch Moluccans (but not Indonesian Moluccans) endorsed relationship motives somewhat more with close than with non-close others seems to be more in accordance with an individualism-collectivism perspective. For example, Karremans and colleagues (2011) found that participants from the Netherlands and the US (more individualistic) were more likely to forgive close others than non-close others, but that this distinction was less important for participants from Japan and China (more collectivistic). According to these researchers, people from collectivistic cultures may have internalized the norm of maintaining social harmony so that it does not matter whether the ingroup deviant is a close other or not. They also suggest that people in individualistic cultures tend to rely on a relatively small number of close relationship partners to receive care and support and may therefore be motivated to forgive close others so as to maintain these valuable relationships. In collectivistic cultures, however, people tend to rely on more extended networks of support (e.g., co-villagers) and they may therefore be motivated to forgive both close others as well as non-close others (see also Kadiangandu, Gauché, Vinsonneau, & Mullet, 2007; Von Benda-Beckmann, 2015). This may hold for our Indonesian Moluccan sample as well. For example, in the Moluccas people tend to rely on close relatives and on co-villagers to receive care, protection and support (Von Benda-Beckmann, 2015). This may explain

why Indonesian Moluccan participants did not distinguish between close others and non-close others in their decision to (not) forgive deviant group members.

To our knowledge, this study is among the first to examine people's motives to (not) forgive ingroup members who have violated an important cultural norm, using samples that have traditionally been underrepresented in research. Having said that, we recognize that the sample sizes in the current study were relatively small and that we only focused on one specific kind of norm violation. Additional research that includes larger samples and focuses on different types of norm violations is necessary to gain more insight into people's motives to (not) forgive deviant group members. The fact that we relied on scenarios may also have affected our results and we are aware that people may respond differently in a real-life situation. Thus, we recommend that future studies incorporate recall and qualitative methods to get more insight into people's motives to (not) forgive deviant group members. These studies could also conceptualize forgiveness more broadly and not only assess the extent to which people are motivated to forgive an ingroup deviant but also whether they think that their group should forgive this person.

To conclude, the present research extends the literature on forgiveness by examining which motives are primary when people decide to (not) forgive a deviant group member and how this varies as a function of the cultural context. Our findings suggest that group motives may play a role in forgiveness processes when people's identity is at stake, but they also suggest that interpersonal concerns are more important, regardless of the cultural context. Future studies should examine in more depth and across a wider range of settings the relative importance of motives to (not) forgive ingroup members who violate important group norms.

Appendix 5.1. Group motives scale

I would….:

… not forgive to protect my Moluccan identity
… not forgive, because he/she rejects his/her Moluccan identity
… not forgive, because he/she rejects the Moluccan identity of the family
… not forgive, because he/she rejects his/her Moluccan norms and values
… not forgive, because he/she rejects the Moluccan norms and values of the family
… not forgive to protect my Moluccan norms and values
… not forgive, because preserving a relationship with other Pela's is important to me
… not forgive for the sake of my relationship with other Pela's
… not forgive for the sake of myself and other Pela's
… not forgive, because I want to maintain a good relationship with other Pela's

Chapter 6

General discussion and conclusion

INTRODUCTION

One of the most widely used frameworks to understand cross-cultural differences in how people feel, think and respond to social interactions, is perhaps that of individualism-collectivism (or IC framework) (see for reviews Kagitcibasi, 1997; Oyserman, Coon & Kemmelmeier, 2002). A central assumption of this framework is that people who live in cultures that are more individualistic should view themselves as relatively independent from others and focus on the self, whereas those who live in more collectivistic cultures should view themselves as more interdependent and connected with others (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995). Although a wealth of studies have used this framework to explain cross-cultural differences in people's emotion, cognition and behavior, many researchers have also challenged some of its basic tenets and its usefulness as a universal model (e.g., Schwartz, 1990; Voronov & Singer, 2002). The aim of this dissertation was to add to current discussions on the explanatory value of the IC framework by examining how cross-cultural differences in individualistic and collectivistic values are manifested in a variety of interactive situations. We examined how people from individualistic and collectivistic cultures regulate their emotions during interactions with close others (such as family members) and non-close others (such as strangers). We also investigated how people from more individualistic and collectivistic cultures responded emotionally to situations in which they or their group were treated unfairly, and we examined what their motives were to (not) forgive close or non-close others following an interpersonal or ingroup transgression. In doing so, we examined whether differences between cultural settings could be explained by the extent to which people defined themselves as more independent (which reflects a stronger concern for the self) or more interdependent (which reflects a stronger concern for others).

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

One of the assumptions of the IC framework is that people from collectivistic cultures are more likely to value harmonious relationships than people from individualistic cultures. Hence, they should suppress their emotions more than people from individualistic cultures so as to preserve harmonious relationships. Little is known, however, about cross-cultural differences in people's emotion regulation in their everyday interactions, as most of the studies on cross-cultural differences in emotion regulation have been conducted in laboratory settings or have relied on surveys. Therefore, we examined in Chapter 2 whether people with collec-

tivistic backgrounds differ from those with individualistic backgrounds in how they regulate positive and negative emotions during their everyday interactions and whether this depends on how close they are with their interaction partner. In particular, we investigated whether people from collectivistic backgrounds (Chinese students in the Netherlands and Moluccan students born and raised in the Netherlands) suppressed their emotions more as compared to those from individualistic backgrounds (Dutch students). Participants kept a diary for two weeks, in which they described to what extent they suppressed their emotions during face-to-face interactions with close others (e.g., friends, family, romantic partner) and non-close others (e.g., colleague, salesperson, acquaintance). In line with the IC-framework, we found that Chinese participants suppressed positive and negative emotions more than Dutch participants and that this was related to differences in the extent to which they defined themselves as more interdependent or independent. We also found, however, that cross-cultural differences in emotion suppression depended on who the interaction partner was. Chinese participants suppressed positive emotions less in interactions with close others, whereas Dutch participants suppressed negative emotions more with close others. No such differences were found for Moluccans. In addition, we found that Moluccan participants did not suppress their emotions differently from Dutch participants. This finding suggests that emotion suppression may change when people with collectivistic backgrounds have been raised in individualistic settings.

In Chapter 3, we focused on how people from individualistic and collectivistic backgrounds respond to injustice. Some researchers have argued that reactions to (un)fairness should be stronger among people with more independent selves (e.g., Van den Bos et al., 2011; Van Prooijen & Zwenk, 2009). Other researchers, however, believe that such responses should be stronger among those with more interdependent selves (e.g., Brockner et al., 2000; Brockner et al., 2005; Tyler et al., 1996). So far, the studies that have been conducted on this topic have been limited to within-culture comparisons using priming techniques, and have not compared responses to procedural injustice between individualistic and collectivistic cultures (e.g., Van den Bos, Miedema, Vermunt, & Zwenk, 2011; van Prooijen & Zwenk, 2009). In addition, previous research on how people's self-definition affects their reactions to injustice has also been limited to injustice that targets a specific individual whereas there are many instances of injustice that target people as a collective. We therefore examined the emotional reactions of individuals from individualistic (Dutch students) and collectivistic (Chinese students in the Netherlands) backgrounds following injustice that targeted them individually or as a group. To this end, we conducted a laboratory experiment in which participants were either personally or collectively deprived of a monetary reward. Overall, our

findings provide more support for the idea that people with an interdependent self are more sensitive to injustice than those with an independent self. We found that Chinese participants reported more anger following the injustice manipulation than Dutch participants. We also found that they were more disappointed than Dutch participants, be it that Dutch participants with a more interdependent self were more disappointed than those with a less interdependent self. We did not find that the emotional responses of Dutch and Chinese participants were moderated by the extent to which they defined themselves as independent. In addition, Dutch and Chinese participants did not differ in their emotional responses to either individual-based or group-based injustice. This finding does not support the idea that injustice that targets a group should be more threatening to people with collectivistic backgrounds than to those with individualistic backgrounds. Moreover, it is not in line with the individualism-collectivism framework that predicts that in collectivistic cultures the interest of the groups should prevail over the interest of the individual (Triandis, 1995).

In Chapter 4 and 5, we examined cross-cultural differences in people's motives to forgive. In Chapter 4 we focused on people's motives to forgive following an interpersonal transgression. We did so because researchers have argued that in individualistic cultures, people may be more inclined to forgive out of concern for the self (personal well-being) and that in collectivistic cultures, people may forgive more out of concern for others (well-being of the offender, interpersonal relationships) (e.g., Sandage & Williamson, 2005). We also examined the relative importance of the different motives within the samples and whether the importance of these motives varies as a function of whether the offender is a close or non-close other. The sample in this study consisted of Dutch participants in the Netherlands and Moluccan participants in the Moluccas (Indonesia). Using a recall method, participants were asked to indicate how important forgiveness motives were to them following an interpersonal transgression and whether this depended on their relationship with the offender. In line with the idea that harmony and well-being of others are important in collectivistic cultures (e.g., Sandage & Williamson, 2005), we found that Moluccan participants indeed endorsed relationship and offender-focused motives more than Dutch participants. At the same time, however, we found that Moluccan and Dutch participants did not differ in the extent to which they endorsed self-focused motives. Moreover, Dutch participants were more likely to endorse relationship motives (especially in close relations) than self-focused motives. For Moluccan participants, relationship, offender-, and self-focused motives were equally important and this did not depend on how close they were with the offender. Differences between the samples could not be explained by the extent to which people defined themselves as more independent

or interdependent. These findings go against the idea that people from collectivistic cultures should be more concerned about their relationship with others and that those from individualistic cultures should be more concerned with their own well-being when they forgive an offender.

In Chapter 5, we focused on cross-cultural differences in motives to (not) forgive ingroup deviants following an ingroup transgression. More specifically, we were interested in whether people's concerns about the group may also be important in such a situation (in addition to intrapersonal and interpersonal motives) and whether this varies as a function of whether they live in a cultural setting that is more individualistic or collectivistic. The sample in this study consisted of members of an intervillage alliance, called 'pela', in Indonesia. They lived either in Indonesia (a more collectivistic setting) or in the Netherlands (a more individualistic setting). An important norm of this particular pela alliance is that it is forbidden to marry confederates of allied villages. Participants were asked to read a scenario in which a group member (close other vs. non-close other) violated this marital prohibition. We found that concerns about the group can motivate people to not forgive an ingroup deviant, particularly when their social identity is at stake (which was more the case for Indonesian Moluccans). Across the two samples, however, participants were more inclined to forgive an ingroup deviant for the benefit of this person or their relationship. Interestingly, self-focused concerns were more important among Indonesian Moluccans and differences between the samples in the relative importance of the different motives could not be explained by people's self-definition (i.e., more independent or interdependent). As in Chapter 4, these findings are not in line with the idea that relationship motives should be more important in collectivistic setting and that self-focused motives should be more important in individualistic settings (e.g., Sandage & Williamson, 2005).

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Our findings paint a nuanced picture of how cross-cultural differences in individualistic and collectivistic values affect people's reactions across a variety of interactions or situations with close and non-close others. On the one hand, the results with regard to emotion regulation suggest that people who were born and raised in collectivistic cultures do tend to suppress positive and negative emotions in day-to-day interactions more than people from individualistic cultures, possibly because they are motivated to maintain harmonious relationships with others (e.g., Butler et al., 2007; Chiang, 2012; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). They also tend to respond more negatively, however, to injustice than people from

individualistic cultures. On the other hand, our studies on people's motives to (not) forgive indicate that self-focused motives can also be important for people who live in a collectivistic setting and that motives that focus on the relationship and/or the offender can also be significant for those who live in an individualistic setting, particularly with close others. This is more in line with a study by Vignoles and colleagues (2016) who found that people in more collectivistic cultures can also put their self-interest first and that people in individualistic cultures value commitment to others too.

Taken together, our results about how people regulate their emotions in their everyday interactions (Chapter 2) seem to fit best within the IC-framework. Although overall, participants did not seem to differ much in the emotions that they experienced in their everyday interactions, we did find that people with collectivistic backgrounds (Chinese) were more likely to suppress their emotions than those with individualistic backgrounds (Dutch). These findings suggest that the emotions that people display in their everyday interactions are guided more strongly by the social behavioral norms of the culture in which they have grown up than the emotions that they experience (e.g., Ho & Fung, 2011; Matsumoto & Hwang, 2012). Given the focus on harmony and conformity in more collectivistic cultures, the expression of positive (e.g., self-pride) or negative emotions (e.g., anger) is more likely to be discouraged (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). But in more individualistic cultures, people are generally encouraged to discover and express their unique attributes and they may therefore experience less pressure to suppress their positive or negative emotions (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Matsumoto, Yoo, & Nakagawa, 2008).

Nevertheless, our findings with respect to the motives that people have to (not) forgive those who have offended them or who have violated an important social norm suggest that maintaining or restoring interpersonal harmony is not only important to people from collectivistic cultures but also to people from individualistic cultures. Thus, even though harmony may be a more important cultural norm in collectivistic settings, at the individual level maintaining harmony seems to be important for people from individualistic cultures as well. This finding is in line with the idea that people have a universal need to establish or maintain positive relationships with others (e.g., Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Hashimoto & Yamagishi, 2013). This need to maintain interpersonal bonds may motivate people from both individualistic and collectivistic cultures to alter their feelings and thoughts toward those who offended them or violated important norms in positive ways and to restore their relationship with them (e.g., Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Yet, our findings also suggest that in collectivistic and individualistic settings, self-focused motives play a role in people's decision to forgive, and this is

in line with the idea that maintaining one's own well-being in stressful situations may be a basic human motive as well (e.g., Black, 2006).

Although it has been suggested that people from collectivistic cultures use the group to define and evaluate themselves and should also be more likely to compare between their own and other groups (e.g., Gómez, Kirkman, & Shapiro, 2000), we did not find that they displayed stronger group-based responses when they were treated unfairly as a collective (Chapter 3). Moreover, concerns about the group played a less important role in their decision to forgive those who have violated an important group norm (Chapter 5) than concerns about their relationship with them. When it comes to people's relationships with others, however, our studies also indicate that the distinction between close and non-close others is more important for people with individualistic backgrounds than for those with collectivistic backgrounds. For example, we found that Dutch participants in Chapter 2 were more likely to suppress both positive and negative emotions with non-close others, whereas Chinese participants only regulated positive emotions more with non-close than with close others but not their negative emotions. In addition, we found in Chapters 4 and 5 that Moluccan participants were less likely to distinguish between close and non-close others in their decision to (not) forgive than Dutch participants. Although we did not directly assess how this difference can be explained, it is possible that people from collectivistic cultures distinguish less between close and non-close others because they have a more holistic view and hence distinguish less between the self and others (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Nevertheless, our findings may also reflect a basic difference in the importance of close versus non-close relationships in collectivistic and individualistic cultures, and the degree of interdependence within a community. For example, although in more collectivistic cultures people may rely more strongly on a stable ingroup, this ingroup may be broader and include a larger variety of relationships on which people count for care, protection, and support than in individualistic cultures (Adams, Anderson, & Andonu, 2004; Kadiangandu et al., 2007; Karremans et al, 2011; Von Benda-Beckmann, 2015). Thus, the distinction between close and non-close others may be less relevant here. Yet, in individualistic cultures people are more likely to form relationships with relative strangers and they tend to rely less on one stable ingroup or depend on a relatively small number of close relationship partners for care and support (e.g., Karremans et al., 2011; Schug et al., 2010). As a result, they may distinguish more readily between close and non-close others.

A particular strength of the studies that we conducted is that we included individual trait measures (e.g., Singelis Self-construal Scale and Inclusion of Others in the Self scale) as well. Interestingly, we found across all four studies

that people with individualistic backgrounds scored higher on the independent self measures and that those with collectivistic backgrounds were higher on the interdependent selves measures. But, even though we did find that people's self-definition moderated some of their reactions (e.g., their emotion regulation and how they responded to injustice), we were not able to explain differences between the samples by including self-definition as a mediator in the analyses. This finding is important because it suggests that some of the differences that we found between the samples are not driven by people's self-concept (as is often assumed in the literature on individualism-collectivism), but may be due to other (cultural) differences. In this regard, future researchers should take into account the cultural values and norms and the degree of interdependence within a setting as well, in addition to measures that assess individual level variation in how people define themselves.

Our findings with regard to the Moluccan immigrants in our sample also underscore that it is important to take contextual values into account. For example, we found that Dutch Moluccans were more likely to express emotions, scored similar to Dutch on a trait measure of emotion suppression and attached less importance to the norms and values associated with their cultural group, pela. Thus, these findings indicate that they have gradually adapted to the setting in which they now live, by adopting more individualistic values and less collectivistic ones. These findings are also in line with studies that have indicated that the longer non-western immigrants live in an individualistic society, the more they become similar to members of the host society in the intensity and frequency with which they experience emotions and the extent to which suppress their emotions (e.g., De Leersnyder et al. 2011; Eng, 2012; Stupar, Van de Vijver, & Fontaine, 2014).

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

With this dissertation we have contributed to the ongoing debate about the value of the individualism-collectivism framework, by examining how cross-cultural differences in individualistic and collectivistic values are manifested in a variety of situations. We also included samples (e.g., Moluccans in the Netherlands and in Indonesia) that have generally been underrepresented in research. At the same time, it is important to note that our samples were relatively small, which limits the possibility to generalize our findings. Moreover, even though we selected participants from cultures that are generally considered more individualistic or collectivistic, these cultures can differ in a number of other important ways as well (Smith, Fischer, Vignoles, & Bond, 2013). So, it is important to replicate

our findings with larger and more diverse samples and to take other (cultural) differences into account as well.

Another concern that we have is the validity of the Horizontal and Vertical Individualism-Collectivism scale (Triandis & Gelfland, 1998) that we used in our studies. As in other studies (e.g., Liao & Bond, 2011; Walker, 2009) the alpha's for this scale were low, so we were not able to use it in our analyses. To overcome this problem, we used other scales as well such as the Self-Construal scale (Singelis, 1994) and the Inclusion of Others in the Self scale (Swann et al., 2009). The latter scale has already been used in cross-cultural research on how people define themselves in relation to others (e.g., Li, Zhang, Bhatt, & Yum, 2006; Uleman, Rhee, Bardoliwalla, Semin, & Toyama, 2000). Nevertheless, these individual-level measures of individualism-collectivism did not explain differences that we found between the samples in Chapter 4 and 5 and we do not know for certain whether this also has to do with the validity of these measures (for a discussion on the validity of self-construal scales, see Gudykunst & Lee, 2003 and Levine et al., 2003). Future studies will have to examine which measures can best be used to examine cross-cultural differences in individualism and collectivism at the individual and cultural level.

In addition to this, we are aware that the use of self-report measures in general is prone to influences of response styles. For example, it is possible that people from collectivistic cultures are more likely to give socially desirable responses and may respond in more agreeable ways, which could reflect cultural norms and values that prescribe appropriate ways of how to communicate with others (see He, Van de Vijver, Espinosa, & Mui, 2014 and He et al., 2015 for a discussion). For example, we found that all forgiveness motives (group, relationship, offender, self) were more important for our Indonesian Moluccan sample. Although we were able to explain why group and self-focused motives were important in this sample as well, it is important to control for possible response biases. Future cross-cultural research may therefore want to use a combination of several methods (e.g., using forced-choice items and self-administered questionnaires rather than interviews) and a detection method (a social desirability scale) to minimize social desirability bias (Nederhof, 1985).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Our findings contribute to recent discussions on the explanatory value of the individualism-collectivism framework by showing that -- even though participants from individualistic and collectivistic cultures did indeed differ in how they

responded in a variety of circumstances -- these differences do not always fit with predictions made by this framework or could not always be explained by individual differences in the extent to which participants defined themselves as more independent or interdependent. Our findings also indicate that -- depending upon the specific outcome measure -- the distinction between a more self-oriented or other-oriented focus is not always as clear-cut as is often suggested in the literature and may depend upon the situations in which people find themselves and on how close they are with those who are present. Future research should examine across a broader range of situations and cultural contexts how both individual and cultural level differences in individualism and collectivism impact people's primary concerns and motives.

REFERENCES

A

Adams, G., Anderson, S. L., & Adonu, J. K. (2004). The cultural grounding of closeness and intimacy. In D. J. Mashek & A. Aron (Eds.), *Handbook of closeness and intimacy* (pp. 321-339). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Aron, A., Aron, E. N., & Smollan, D. (1992). Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale and the structure of interpersonal closeness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *63*, 596-612.

B

Ballester, S., Chatri, F., Sastre, M. T. M., Rivière, S., & Mullet, E. (2011). Forgiveness-related motives: A structural and cross-cultural approach. *Social Science Information*, *50*, 178-200.

Bartels, D. (1977). *Guarding the invisible mountain: Intervillage alliances, religious syncretism and ethnic identity among Ambonese Christians and Muslims in the Moluccas.* Doctoral Dissertation.

Bartels, D. (1985). *Pela alliances in the Central Moluccas and in the Netherlands: A brief guide for beginners*. Retrieved October 13, 2015, from http://www.nunusaku.com/03_publications/index.html#4

Bartels, D. (1990). *From Black Dutchmen to White Moluccans: Ethnic metamorphosis of an East-Indonesian minority in the Netherlands*. Paper presented at the first conference on Maluku research. University of Hawaii at Manoa. Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Honolulu, March, 16-18.

Baumeister, R. F., Exline, J. J., & Sommer, K.L. (1998). The victim role, grudge theory, and two dimensions of forgiveness. In E.L. Worthington, Jr. (Ed.), *Dimensions of forgiveness* (pp. 79-104). Philadelphia: Templeton Foundation Press.

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, *117*, 497-529.

Bembenek, A. F., Beike, D. R., & Schroeder, D. A. (2007). Justice violations, emotional reactions, and justice-seeking responses. In D. De Cremer (Ed.), *Advances in the psychology of justice and affect* (pp. 15-36). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Biernat, M., Vescio, T. K., & Billings, L. S. (1999). Black sheep and expectancy violation: integrating two models of social judgment. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *29*, 523-542.

Black, P. (2006). Thrust to wholeness: The nature of self-protection. *Review of General Psychology*, *10*, 191-209.

Branscombe, N. R., & Wann, D. L. (1994). Collective self-esteem consequences of outgroup derogation when a valued social identity is on trial. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 24*, 641-657.

Branscombe, N. R., Wann, D. L., Noel, J. G., & Coleman, J. (1993). In-Group or out-group extremity: Importance of the threatened social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *19*, 381-388.

Braüchler, B. (2009). Cultural solutions to religious conflicts? The revival of tradition in the Moluccas, Eastern Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, *37*, 872-891.

Brewer, M. B., & Chen, Y. R. (2007). Where (who) are collectives in collectivism? Toward conceptual clarification of individualism and collectivism. *Psychological Review, 114*, 133-151.

Brockner, J., Chen, Y.-R., Mannix, E. A., Leung, K., & Skarlicki, D. P. (2000). Culture and procedural fairness: When the effects of what you do depend on how you do it. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 45*, 138-159.

Brockner, J., De Cremer, D., van den Bos, K., & Chen, Y.-R. (2005). The influence of interdependent self-construal on procedural fairness effects. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 96*, 155-167.

Brown, R. P., Wohl, M. J. A., & Exline, J. J. (2008). Taking up offenses: Secondhand forgiveness and group identification. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *34*, 1406-1419.

Butler, E. A., Lee, T. L., & Gross, J. J. (2007). Emotion regulation and culture: Are the social consequences of emotion suppression culture-specific? *Emotion, 7*, 30-48.

C

Chiang, W. (2012). The suppression of emotional expression in interpersonal context (大學生人際互動情緒表達壓抑的探究). *Bulletin of Educational Psychology*, *43*, 657-680.

Coşkan, C., Phalet, K., Güngör, D., & Mesquita, B. (2016). Relationship context matters: Cultural differences in self-construals revisited. *Cross-Cultural Research, 50*, 63-84.

Cropanzano, R., Byrne, Z. S., Bobocel, D. R., & Rupp, D. E. (2001). Moral virtues, fairness heuristics, social entities, and other denizens of organizational justice. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *58*, 164-209.

D

Deaux, K., Reid, A., Mizrahi, K., & Cotting, D. (1999). Connecting the person to the social: The functions of social identification. In T. R. Tyler, R. M. Kramer & O. P. John (Eds.), *The Psychology of the Social Self* (pp. 91-113). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The" what" and" why" of goal pursuits: Human needs and the self-determination of behavior. *Psychological Inquiry, 11*, 227-268.

De Cremer, D., & Tyler, T. R. (2005a). Managing group behavior: The interplay between procedural justice, sense of self, and cooperation. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 37*, 151-218.

De Cremer, D., & Tyler, T. R. (2005b). Am I respected or not? Inclusion and reputation as issues in group membership. *Social Justice Research, 18*, 121-153.

De Leersnyder, J., Mesquita, B., & Kim, H. S. (2011). Where do my emotions belong? A study of immigrants' emotional acculturation. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *37*, 451-463.

E

Elliot, A. J. (2008). Approach and avoidance motivation. In A. J. Elliot (Ed.), *Handbook of approach and avoidance motivation* (pp. 3-14). New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Eng, J. S. (2012). *Emotion regulation and culture: The effects of cultural models of self on Western and East Asian differences in suppression and reappraisal*. Doctoral dissertation. Retrieved December, 8, 2014, from http://escholarship.org/uc/item/3fg3k1p0

English, T., & Chen, S. (2007). Culture and self-concept stability: Consistency across and within contexts among Asian Americans and European Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 93*, 478-490.

English, T., & John, O. P. (2013). Understanding the social effects of emotion regulation: The mediating role of authenticity for individual differences in suppression. *Emotion*, *13*, 314-329.

Exline, J. J., Worthington, E. L., Hill, P., & McCullough, M. E. (2003). Forgiveness and justice: A research agenda for social and personality psychology. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *7*, 337-348.

F

Finkel, E. J., Rusbult, C. E., Kumashiro, M., & Hannon, P. A. (2002). Dealing with betrayal in close relationships: Does commitment promote forgiveness? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*, 956-974.

Fischer, R., & Schwartz, S. (2011). Whence differences in value priorities? Individual, cultural, or artifactual sources. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *42*, 1127-1144.

Foster, M. D., & Matheson, K. (1999). Perceiving and responding to the personal/group discrimination discrepancy. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 25*, 1319-1329.

Fu, H., Watkins, D., & Hui, E. K. P. (2004). Personality correlates of the disposition towards interpersonal forgiveness: A Chinese perspective. *International Journal of Psychology, 39*, 305-316.

G

Gómez, C., Kirkman, B. L., & Shapiro, D. L. (2000). The impact of collectivism and in-group/out-group membership on the evaluation generosity of team members. *The Academy of Management Journal, 43*, 1097-1106.

Gross, J. J., Richards, J. M., & John, O. P. (2006). Emotion regulation in everyday life. In D. K. Snyder, J. Simpson & J. N. Hughes (Eds.), *Emotion regulation in couples and families: Pathways to dysfunction and health* (pp. 13-35). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Gross, J. J., & John, O. P. (2003). Individual differences in two emotion regulation processes: Implications for affect, relationships, and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *85*, 348-362.

Gudykunst, W. B., & Lee, C. M. (2003). Assessing the validity of Self Sonstrual Scales. A response to Levine et al. *Human Communication Research, 29*, 253-274.

H

Haga, S. M., Kraft, P., & Corby, E.-K. (2009). Emotion regulation: Antecedents and well-being outcomes of cognitive reappraisal and expressive suppression in cross-cultural samples. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 10*, 271-291.

Hashimoto, H., & Yamagishi, T. (2013). Two faces of interdependence: Harmony seeking and rejection avoidance. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 16*, 142-151.

Hayes, A. F. (2013). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis*. New York: The Guilford Press.

He, J., van de Vijver, F. J. R., Espinosa, A. D., Abubakar, A., Dimitrova, R., Adams, B. G., . . . Villieux, A. (2015). Socially desirable responding: Enhancement and denial in 20 countries. *Cross-Cultural Research, 49*, 227-249.

He, J., Van de Vijver, F. J., Espinosa, A. D., & Mui, P. H. (2014). Toward a unification of acquiescent, extreme, and midpoint response styles: A multilevel study. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management, 14*, 306-322.

Hilkhuijsen, J., Leatomu, D., & Wassing-Visser, R. (1984). *Pameran Masohi Maluku: De Molukken, tussen traditie en toekomst* [Exhibition, Teamwork Moluccas. The Moluccas between tradition and future]. Delft: Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara.

Ho, M. Y., & Fung, H. H. (2011). A dynamic process model of forgiveness: A cross-cultural perspective. *Review of General Psychology*, *15*, 77-84.

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Hofstede, G.J., Minkov, M., Hofstede, G. (2014). *Allemaal andersdenkenden: Omgaan met cultuurverschillen* [Different minded people: Managing cultural differences]. Amsterdam/Antwerpen: Contact.

Hook, J. N., Worthington, E. L., Davis, D. E., Watkins, D., Hui, E., Luo, W., . . . Reyna, S. H. (2013). A China–New Zealand comparison of forgiveness. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 16*, 286-291.

Hook, J.N., Worthington, E.L., & Utsey, S.O. (2009). Collectivism, forgiveness, and social harmony. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *37*, 821-847.

Hook, J. N., Worthington, E. L., Utsey, S. O., Davis, D. E., & Burnette, J. L. (2012). Collectivistic self-construal and forgiveness. *Counseling & Values, 57*, 109-124.

Hornsey, M. J., Jetten, J., McAuliffe, B. J., & Hogg, M. A. (2006). The impact of individualist and collectivist group norms on evaluations of dissenting group members. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *42*, 57-68.

Hui, V. K.-Y., & Bond, M. H. (2009). Target's face loss, motivations, and forgiveness following relational transgression: Comparing Chinese and US cultures. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 26*, 123-140.

Huwaë, S. (2001). *Het Pelaschap leeft voort: De rol en de betekenis van het Pelaschap in Molukse gezinnen* [Pela continues. The role and meaning of Pela in Moluccan families]. Nijmegen: Muhabbat.

Huwaë, S. (1996). *Het Pela-trouwverbod: Een collectieve of individuele aangelegenheid? Het Pelaschap in discussie onder Molukse jongeren in Nederland* [Pela marital prohibition: A collective or an individual matter? Debate on Pela among Moluccan youth in the Netherlands]. Nijmegen: Muhabbat.

I

Imamoğlu, E. O. (1998). Individualism and collectivism in a model and Scale of Balanced Differentiation and Integration. *The Journal of Psychology, 132*, 95-105.

Iyer, A., Schmader, T., & Lickel, B. (2007). Why individuals protest the perceived transgressions of their country: The role of anger, shame, and guilt. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *33*, 572-587.

J

Johns, M., Schmader, T., & Lickel, B. (2005). Ashamed to be an American? The role of identification in predicting vicarious shame for anti-Arab prejudice after 9-11. *Self & Identity*, *4*, 331-348.

K

Kadiangandu, J. K., Gauché, M., Vinsonneau, G., & Mullet, E. (2007). Conceptualizations of forgiveness: Collectivist-Congolese versus individualist-French viewpoints. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *38*, 432-437.

Kagitcibasi, C. (2005). Autonomy and relatedness in cultural context: Implications for self and family. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 36*, 403-422.

Kagitçibasi, Ç. (1997). Individualism and collectivism. In J. W. Berry, M. H. Segall, & C. Kagitcibasi (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology* (Vol. 3, pp. 1-50). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Karremans, J. C., Regalia, C., Paleari, F. G., Fincham, F. D., Cui, M., Takada, N., . . . Uskul, A. K. (2011). Maintaining harmony across the globe: The cross-cultural association between closeness and interpersonal forgiveness. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *2*, 443-451.

Karremans, J. C., Van Lange, P. A. M., Ouwerkerk, J. W., & Kluwer, E. S. (2003). When forgiving enhances psychological well-being: The role of interpersonal commitment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *84*, 1011-1026.

Killen, M., & Wainryb, C. (2000). Independence and interdependence in diverse cultural contexts. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development, 2000*, 5-21.

Kim, H., & Markus, H. R. (1999). Deviance or uniqueness, harmony or conformity? A cultural analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *77*, 785-800.

Kitayama, S., Mesquita, B., & Karasawa, M. (2006). Cultural affordances and emotional experience: Socially engaging and disengaging emotions in Japan and the United States. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 91*, 890-903.

Koper, G., Van Knippenberg, D., Bouhuijs, F., Vermunt, R., & Wilke, H. (1993). Procedural fairness and self-esteem. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 23*, 313-325.

Krehbiel, P. J., & Cropanzano, R. (2000). Procedural justice, outcome favorability and emotion. *Social Justice Research*, *13*, 339-360.

L

Levine, T. R., Bresnahan, M. J., Park, H. S., Lapinski, M. K., Wittenbaum, G. M., . . . Ohashi, R. (2003). Self-construal scales lack validity. *Human Communication Research*, *29*, 210-252.

Li, H. Z. (2002). Culture, gender and self–close-other(s) connectedness in Canadian and Chinese samples. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *32*, 93-104.

Li, H. Z., Zhang, Z., Bhatt, G., & Yum, Y.-O. (2006). Rethinking culture and self-construal: China as a Middle Land. *Journal of Social Psychology, 146*, 591-610.

Liao, Y., & Bond, M. (2011). The dynamics of face loss following interpersonal harm for Chinese and Americans. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *42*, 25-38.

Licea, I. L. (2013). *Today's glass ceiling: Executive women's experiences and perceptions regarding career advancement into executive leadership positions in transportation.* Doctoral Dissertation. Retrieved April 29, 2017, from http://media.proquest.com/media/pq/classic/doc/3406944531/fmt/ai/rep/NPDF?_s=ngFP3%2Bbuy35CTXUuv%2BO3BuOZ7XA%3D

M

Mark, M. M. (1985). Expectations, procedural justice, and alternative reactions to being deprived of a desired outcome. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *21*, 114-137.

Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the Self: Implications for cognition, emotion and motivation. *Psychological Review*, *98*, 224-253.

Marques, J. M., Yzerbyt, V. Y., & Leyens, J.-P. (1988). The 'Black Sheep Effect': Extremity of judgments towards ingroup members as a function of group identification. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *18*, 1-16.

Matsumoto, D. (1999). Culture and self: An empirical assessment of Markus and Kitayama's theory of independent and interdependent self-construals. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 2*, 289-310.

Matsumoto, D. (1990). Cultural similarities and differences in display rules. *Motivation and Emotion*, *14*, 195-214.

Matsumoto, D., & Hwang, H. S. (2012). Culture and emotion: The integration of biological and cultural contributions. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 43*, 91-118.

Matsumoto, D., Takeuchi, S., Andayani, S., Kouznetsova, N., & Krupp, D. (1998). The contribution of individualism vs. collectivism to cross-national differences in display rules. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, *1*, 147-165.

Matsumoto, D., Yoo, S. H., & Nakagawa, S. (2008). Culture, emotion regulation, and adjustment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 94*, 925-937.

McCullough, M. E. (2008). *Beyond revenge. The evolution of the forgiveness instinct*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

McCullough, M. E., Fincham, F. D., & Tsang, J.-A. (2003). Forgiveness, forbearance, and time: The temporal unfolding of transgression-related interpersonal motivations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *84*, 540-557.

McCullough, M. E., Pargament, K. I., & Thoresen, C. E. (2000). The psychology of forgiveness: History, conceptual issues, and overview. In M. E. McCullough, K. I. Pargament & C. E. Thoresen (Eds.), *Forgiveness: Theory, research, and practice* (pp. 1-14). New York: The Guilford Press.

Mesquita, B., & Ellsworth, P. C. (2001). The role of culture in appraisal. In K. R. Scherer, A. Schorr & T. Johnstone (Eds.), *Appraisal processes in emotion* (pp. 233-248). New York: Oxford University Press.

Mikula, G. (1986). The experience of injustice. In H. W. Bierhoff, R. L. Cohen & J. Greenberg (Eds.), *Justice in social relations* (pp. 103-123). New York: Plenum Press.

N

Nederhof, A. J. (1985). Methods of coping with social desirability bias: A review. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 15*, 263-280.

Neff, K. D., Brabeck, K. M., & Kearney, L. K. (2006). Relationship styles of self-focused autonomy, other-focused connection, and mutuality among Mexican American and European American college students. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 146*, 568-590.

Nezlek, J. B. (2011). *Multilevel modeling for social and personality psychology*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Nezlek, J. B., & Kuppens, P. (2008). Regulating positive and negative emotions in daily life. *Journal of Personality*, *76*, 561-580.

O

Oostindie, G. J. (2010). *Postcolonial Netherlands: Sixty-five years of forgetting, commemorating, silencing*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Oyserman, D., Coon, H. M., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses. *Psychological Bulletin*, *128*, 3-72.

P

Piff, P. K., Martinez, A. G., & Keltner, D. (2011). Me against we: In-group transgression, collective shame, and in-group-directed hostility. *Cognition & Emotion*, *26*, 634-649.

R

Raudenbush, S., Bryk, T, & Congdon, R. (2000). *HLM 6 Hierarchical Linear and Nonlinear Modeling*. Scientific Software International, Inc.

Rinsampessy, E. (1992). *Saudara bersaudara: Molukse identiteit in processen van cultuurverandering* [Brotherhood: Moluccan identity in processes of cultural change]. Assen: Van Gorcum.

Roseman, I. J. (2008). Motivations and emotivations: Approach, avoidance, and other tendencies in motivational and emotional behavior. In A. J. Elliot (Ed.), *Handbook of approach and avoidance motivation* (pp. 343-366). New York: Psychology Press.

S

Sandage, S. J., & Wiens, T. W. (2001). Contextualizing models of humility and forgiveness: A reply to Gassin. *Journal of Psychology & Theology*, *29*, 201-211.

Sandage, S. J., & Williamson, I. (2005). Forgiveness in cultural context. In E. L. Worthington Jr (Ed.), *Handbook of forgiveness* (pp. 41-55). New York: Routledge.

Schaafsma, J. (2008). Interethnic relations at work: Examining ethnic minority and majority members' experiences in The Netherlands. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 32*, 453-465.

Schaafsma, J. (2011). Discrimination and subjective well-being: The moderating roles of identification with the heritage group and the host majority group. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 41*, 786-795.

Schaafsma, J., Nezlek, J. B., Krejtz, I., & Safron, M. (2010). Ethnocultural identification and naturally occurring interethnic social interactions: Muslim minorities in Europe. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *40*, 1010-1028.

Schug, J., Yuki, M., & Maddux, W. (2010). Relational mobility explains between- and within-culture differences in self-disclosure to close friends. *Psychological Science*, *21*, 1471-1478.

Schwartz, S. H. (1990). Individualism-collectivism: Critique and proposed refinements. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *21*, 139-157.

Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. In P. Z. Mark (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25, pp. 1-65). San Diego: Academic Press.

Schwartz, N., & Sudman, S. (Eds) (1992). *Context effects in social and psychological research.* New York: Springer-Verlag.

Sedikides, C., & Gaertner, L. (2001). A homecoming to the individual self. Emotional and motivational primacy. In C. Sedikides & M. B. Brewer (Eds.), *Individual self, relational self, collective self* (pp. 7-23). Philadelphia: Psychology Press.

Singelis, T. M. (1994). The measurement of independent and interdependent self-construals. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *20*, 580-591.

Smeets, H., & Steijlen, F. (2006). *In Nederland gebleven: De geschiedenis van Molukkers 1951-2006* [Staying in the Netherlands. The history of Moluccans 1951-2006]. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker/Moluks Historisch Museum.

Smith, P. B., Fischer, R., Vignoles, V. L., & Bond, M. H. (2013). *Understanding social psychology across cultures: Engaging with others in a changing world.* Los Angeles: Sage.

Strelan, P., & Covic, T. (2006). A review of forgiveness process models and a coping framework to guide future research. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 25*, 1059-1085.

Strelan, P., McKee, I. A. N., Calic, D., Cook, L., & Shaw, L. (2013). For whom do we forgive? A functional analysis of forgiveness. *Personal Relationships*, *20*, 124-139.

Strijbosch, F. (1985). Concept of PELA and its social significance in the community of Moluccan immigrants in the Netherlands. *Journal of Legal Pluralism & Unofficial Law*, *23*, 177-208.

Stupar, S., van de Vijver, F. J. R., & Fontaine, J. R. J. (2014). Emotional suppression and well-being in immigrants and majority group members in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Psychology, 49*, 503-507.

Suh, E. M. (2000). Self, the hyphen between culture and subjective well-being. In E. Diener & E. M. Suh (Eds.), *Culture and Subjective Well-being* (pp. 63-86). Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT press.

Suwartono, C., Prawasti, C.Y., & Mullet, E. (2007). Effect of culture on forgiveness: A Southern Asia-Western Europe comparison. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *42*, 513-523.

Swann, W. B., Jr., Gómez, Á., Seyle, D. C., Morales, J. F., & Huici, C. (2009). Identity fusion: The interplay of personal and social identities in extreme group behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *96*, 995-1011.

T

Takada, N., & Ohbuchi, K.-I. (2004). Why do we forgive offenders? Egocentric, altruistic, and normative motives for interpersonal forgiveness. *Tohoku Psychologica Folia*, *63*, 95-102.

Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Way, N., Hughes, D., Yoshikawa, H., Kalman, R. K., & Niwa, E. Y. (2008). Parents' goals for children: The dynamic coexistence of individualism and collectivism in cultures and individuals. *Social Development, 17*, 183-209.

Tepper, B. J. (2001). Health consequences of organizational injustice: Tests of main and interactive effects. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 86*, 197-215.

Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism and Collectivism. New Directions in Social Psychology*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc.

Triandis, H. C., Bontempo, R., Villareal, M. J., Asai, M., & Lucca, N. (1988). Individualism and collectivism: Cross-cultural perspectives on self-ingroup relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *54*, 323-338.

Triandis, H. C., & Gelfand, M. J. (1998). Converging measurement of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *74*, 118-128.

Tunjanan, T. P. (2008). *Molukse jongeren & onderwijs: Quick scan 2008* [Moluccan Youth and education: Quick scan 2008]. Utrecht: FORUM.

Tyler, T., Degoey, P., & Smith, H. (1996). Understanding why the justice of group procedures matters: A test of the psychological dynamics of the group-value model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70*, 913-930.

Tyler, T. R., & Smith, H. J. (1999). Justice, social identity, and group processes. In T. R. Tyler, R. M. Kramer & O. P. John (Eds.), *The Psychology of the Social Self* (pp. 223-264). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

U

Uchida, Y., & Kitayama, S. (2009). Happiness and unhappiness in east and west: Themes and variations. *Emotion*, *9*, 441-456.

Uleman, J. S., Rhee, E., Bardoliwalla, N., Semin, G., & Toyama, M. (2000). The relational self: Closeness to ingroups depends on who they are, culture, and the type of closeness. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 3*, 1-17.

V

Van den Bos, K., Miedema, J., Vermunt, R., & Zwenk, F. (2011). A self-activation hypothesis of affective reactions to fair and unfair events: Evidence for supraliminal and subliminal processes. *Social Justice Research, 24*, 6-24.

Van den Bos, K., Veldhuizen, T. S., & Au, A. K. C. (2015). Counter cross-cultural priming and relative deprivation: The role of individualism-collectivism. *Social Justice Research, 28*, 52-75.

Van Prooijen, J.-W., & Zwenk, F. (2009). Self-construal level and voice procedures: The individual self as psychological basis for procedural fairness effects. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 45*, 392-397.

Vignoles, V. L., Owe, E., Becker, M., Smith, P. B., Easterbrook, M. J., Brown, R., . . . Bond, M. H. (2016). Beyond the 'east–west' dichotomy: Global variation in cultural models of selfhood. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General, 145*, 966-1000.

Von Benda-Beckmann, K. (2015). Social security, personhood, and the state. *Asian Journal of Law and Society*, *2*, 323-338.

Voronov, M., & Singer, J. A. (2002). The myth of individualism-collectivism: A critical review. *Journal of Social Psychology, 142*, 461-480.

Voutz, H., & Rinsampessy, E. (2008). Tussen adat en integratie: Een analyse van de situatie van Molukkers in Nederland. In: E. Rinsampessy (Ed.), *Tussen adat en integratie: Vijf generaties Molukkers worstelen en dansen op de Nederlandse aarde* [Between adat and integration: Five generations of Moluccans struggle and dance on Dutch soil]. Haps: Drukkerij Weemen.

W

Wheeler, L., & Nezlek, J. (1977). Sex differences in social participation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *35*, 742.

Walker, G. J. (2009). Culture, self-construal, and leisure motivations. *Leisure Sciences, 31*, 347-363.

Wheeler, L., & Nezlek, J. (1977). Sex differences in social participation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 35*, 742-754.

Witvliet, C. V., Ludwig, T. E., & Van der Laan, K. L. (2001). Granting forgiveness or harboring grudges: Implications for emotion, physiology, and health. *Psychological Science*, *12*, 117-123.

Y

Yuki, M. (2003). Intergroup comparison versus intragroup relationships: A cross-cultural examination of social identity theory in North American and East Asian cultural contexts. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *66*, 166-183.

Yuki, M., Maddux, W. W., Brewer, M. B., & Takemura, K. (2005). Cross-cultural differences in relationship- and group-based trust. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 31*, 48-62.

Yuki, M., & Takemura, K. (2014). Intergroup comparison and intragroup relationship. In M. Yuki & M. B. Brewer (Eds.), *Culture and Group Processes* (pp. 38-65). New York: Oxford University Press.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Finally, a long-cherished wish to obtain a doctorate degree has come true! Ever since I was a psychology student, it was already clear to me that I wanted to continue an academic career after my graduation and get a PhD. Preferably in the area of cultural psychology. So, after I got my master's degree I immediately tried to obtain a position as a PhD student, in vain. Fortunately, I got the opportunity to work as a researcher at Radboud University and various research institutes and organizations, which I enjoyed a lot. But my desire to get a doctorate degree remained and I realized that if I wanted to achieve this I had to create one myself with the help of others.

My PhD research project at Tilburg University would not have been possible without the collaboration between the Province of Noord-Brabant, Stichting Palet (my former employer), Tilburg University and OVAA-Eindhoven. I am very grateful to the Province of Noord-Brabant and Tilburg University who have supported my promotion research together, financially. Special thanks go to Anjo Roorda and Han Rijgersberg from Stichting Palet who have fully supported me and dedicated themselves to establish a collaboration with Tilburg University. I am also grateful to Fons Maes from Tilburg University for providing me with an inspiring work environment with open-hearted researchers at Tilburg Center for Cognition and Communication.

This dissertation would not have been possible without my two dear promotores, Juliette and Emiel who have taken me under their wings. They have learned me the ins and outs and the tricks of how to write a thesis. I really enjoyed their pleasant personalities, cheerfulness, shrewdness, and not forgetting their jokes during the meetings. Juliette, the endless patience, kindness, optimism and comforting words that I received during my weekly meetings with you have made these five years more enjoyable and bearable. I can imagine how frustrating it often must have been for you when discussing my work and repeating yourself over and over again. Thank you for not showing this when you felt this way. You have learned me the tricks for how to write a paper and have shown me how to interpret complex analyses. I am so lucky to have you as my daily supervisor! Emiel, thank you for your quick, clear and shrewd comments on the chapters and on the manuscripts, for your comforting words, your humorous remarks and for letting me know that I could call on you whenever I had questions. I could not have wished for a better supervisor! Juliette and Emiel, your supervision has enabled me to finish this dissertation successfully. I thank you both for believing in me.

I also would like to thank the promotion committee for their time and effort to appraise this dissertation and my colleagues, Emmelyn, Lieke, Marlies and Martijn, who have helped me with the final rehearsal of the defense.

Furthermore, I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to those who have helped me with my studies. I am grateful to Richelle Portier for her help in collecting and processing the data for the diary study in Chapter 2. I also thank my colleagues Phoebe, Ted (Nie Hua), Yan (Gu), and Yu for their help in translating the questionnaires of the diary study into Chinese. I am also grateful to Shanook Jansen for collecting data for the experiment in Chapter 3. For my two studies on motives to forgive in Chapter 4 and 5, I received financial support from the Jo Kolk Foundation and from Study Abroad Fund from Tilburg University. Their financial support enabled me to conduct research on the Isle of Ambon in Indonesia and I am very grateful for that. In connection with this I also express my gratitude to Natalia Widiasari (Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia) for providing me with workplace facilities. I am grateful to Wilma Latuny, Lina Latuihamallo, and Lamtiur Tampubolon (Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia) for their help in translating questionnaires into Indonesian and Ambonese. I also thank Lina Latuihamallo and Mendi Siregar for their help in collecting data. Special thanks go to my dear niece Dece Huwaë and her daughter Priscillia Jennifer for their warm care during my stay on the Isle of Ambon. In recruiting Dutch Moluccan participants for my study on emotion suppression and on forgiveness motives, I got the help of fellow Dutch Moluccans such as Darshana Satumalaij, Willem Huwaë, Alex Sohilait, and various personal and social Moluccan networks such as Perkumpulan Anak Anak Latuhalat Seilale and Hubungan Huwae, to which I am very grateful. I also express my gratitude to all the participants who have participated in my four studies.

It was a pleasure to have worked with colleagues from Tilburg Center for Cognition and Communication. Their friendly, relaxed and inviting personalities made my years at the department a place where I could feel at ease. Some colleagues I would like to mention in particular. Lauraine, I really enjoyed our weekly updates on current developments in various Moluccan communities across the country. When I came to the office for the first time, I was pleasantly surprised to be working with someone with whom I share the same personal and social networks and who I know already from the times when I was a member of the Moluccan community in Tilburg. And the fact that our mothers knew each other very well way back then makes our relationship very special. Yueqiao, Nanny and Asmir, it was delightful to share a room with you. I will miss our weekly lunches. We will keep in touch! Nanny, thanks for our talks on teaching, parenting and other everyday topics. Yueqiao, I enjoyed our weekly talks and our latest day trip in the

park “De Hoge Veluwe”. Where shall we go to next time? Miriam, Phoebe, Tess, Yan (Xia), Yan (Gu), it was a pleasure to share a room with you. Wilma, I enjoyed our talks in Bahasa Ambon. Anke, thank you for your insightful comments on my grant applications. Alex, Jacqueline, Janneke, Karin, Kiek, Lieke, Mariek, Marije, Marjolijn, Martijn, Ruud, Veronique, Yan (Gu), Yu, thank you for your feedback and help when I was in need of one. Alain, Carel, Chrissy, Debby, Emmelyn, Eva, Fons, Ingrid, Katalin, Lieke, Leonoor, Marc, Maria, Marjet, Marlies, Martijn, Max, Nadine Naomi, Per, Peter, Rein and all the other colleagues, thank you for making my time at the department a pleasurable one.

And last but not least, I am grateful to Tonny Janssen for his ever so encouraging words and for putting things into perspective in stressful moments. Thank you for always being there for me and for thinking along with me. If you had not brought an opening at Stichting Palet to my attention, I probably would not have written this dissertation.

Dear all, thank you so much!
Sylvia Huwaë

SUMMARY

People can differ in how they respond to everyday situations. For example, when treated unfairly by someone, some people may express their anger and find it difficult to forgive the person who offended them. Others, however, may suppress this negative feeling and forgive the offender. People can also differ in their motives to forgive the offender. These variations in how people respond to the same situation can - at least in part - be explained by their cultural background. An often used framework to understand cross-cultural differences in how people feel, think and behave in social situations is that of individualism-collectivism (IC). Individualism involves cultures in which ties between individuals are relatively loose and the interests of the individual often prevail over the interests of the group. Collectivism, by contrast, refers to cultures in which people are integrated into strong cohesive groups and the interests of the groups generally prevail over the interests of the individual. Yet, many researchers have challenged some of this framework's prime assumptions and its usefulness as a universal model. This dissertation examined the usefulness of the IC-framework by examining how people from individualistic and collectivistic cultures regulate their emotions during social interactions and respond to transgressions in various settings with various people. For this, we used a combination of methods (daily diary, experiment, recall, scenario). Our samples included participants with more individualistic backgrounds (Dutch) and more collectivistic backgrounds (Chinese, Indonesian). We also conducted two studies with descendants from Indonesian immigrants (Moluccans) in the Netherlands. This dissertation showed that, even though participants from individualistic and collectivistic cultures differed in how they suppressed emotions and responded to transgressions, their responses also depended upon how close they were with those who were present or involved. We also found that personal concerns can be important too in collectivistic cultures and that in individualistic cultures relational concerns can also matter when forgiving someone. In addition, our findings showed that group interest did not prevail over personal interest among participants with collectivistic backgrounds following transgressions. As such, our findings present a nuanced view on characterizing cultures as either individualistic or collectivistic. More research is recommended to understand the interplay between individualistic and collectivistic values behind people's responses to all kinds of situations with more and diverse samples. Furthermore, our findings with regard to the Moluccans in the Netherlands suggest that the longer immigrants with collectivistic backgrounds live in an individualistic society, the more their responses may become similar to members of the host society.

PUBLICATION LIST

Journal Publications

Huwaë, S., & Schaafsma, J. (2017). Cross-cultural similarities and differences in motives to forgive: A comparison between and within cultures. *International Journal of Psychology*. DOI: 10.1002/ijop.12461

Huwaë, S., & Schaafsma, J. (under review). Motives to (not) forgive deviant group members: A comparison within and between cultures. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology.*

Huwaë, S., & Schaafsma, J. (2016). Cross-cultural differences in emotion suppression in everyday interactions. *International Journal of Psychology.* DOI: 10.1002/ijop.12283.

Huwaë, S. (1998) (book review). Casemanagement: Een leerwerkboek over de organisatie en coördinatie van zorg-, hulp- en dienstverlening [Case management: A workbook on the organization and coordination of care provision, assistance and services]. *Pedagogisch Tijdschrift, 2/3, 173-174.*

Huwaë, S. (1995). Divided opinions about adatpela: A study of pela Tamilou-Siri-Sori-Hutumuri. *Cakalele*, *6*, 77-92.

Book Publications

Blok, A., Huwaë, S. Van der Horst, A., Van de Klippe, H., Donker, M. (2002). *Evaluatie Wet Bijzondere Opnemingen in Psychiatrische Ziekenhuizen: Interne rechtspositie in de psychiatrie* [Evaluation of the Act of Special Commitment in Psychiatric Hospitals: Internal legal position in psychiatry] . Den Haag: ZonMw.

Huwaë, S. (2002). *Toch blij dat ik om hulp heb gevraagd: Ervaringen van allochtone cliënten en hulpverleners met de geestelijke gezondheidszorg* [I am so happy to have asked for help: Experiences of foreign clients and social workers with mental health care]. Utrecht: GGZ Nederland.

Huwaë, S. (2001). *Het Pelaschap leeft voort: De rol en de betekenis van het Pelaschap in Molukse gezinnen* [Pela continues: The role and meaning of Pela in Moluccan families]. Nijmegen: Muhabbat.

Huwaë, S. (1996). *Het Pela-trouwverbod: Een collectieve of individuele aangelegenheid? Het Pelaschap in discussie onder Molukse jongeren in Nederland* [Pela marital prohibition: A collective or an individual matter? Debate on Pela among Moluccan youth in the Netherlands]. Nijmegen: Muhabbat.

Klaassen, C., Huwaë, S. (2006). *Scholen die werken aan burgerschap: Een verkenning van inspanningen en leerlingvolgsystemen* [Schools that work on citizenship: An exploration of efforts and pupil monitoring systems]. Ubbergen: Uitgeverij Tandem Felix.

Wennink, J., Huwaë, S., Boomstra, R. (2004). *Monitoren van interculturalisatie in de GGZ en de verslavingszorg* [Monitoring of interculturalization in Mental Health Care and care and treatment of drug addicts]. Utrecht: GGZ Nederland.

Abstracts of Conference Presentations

Huwaë, S., & Schaafsma, J. (2016). Motives to forgive following a violation of a community norm. Talk presented at the Association of Southeast Asian Studies in the United Kingdom (ASEASUK) Conference, SOAS University of London, The United Kingdom, 18 September 2016.

Huwaë, S., & Schaafsma, J. (2016). Motives to forgive following a violation of a community norm. Talk presented at International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP) International Conference, WINC Aichi, Nagoya, Japan, 2 August 2016.

Huwaë, S., & Schaafsma, J. (2015). Why people forgive: A cross-cultural study. Talk presented at IACCP Regional Conference, Centro de Convenciones Casa Mazariegos, San Cristobal de las Casas, Mexico, 31 July 2015.

Huwaë, S., & Schaafsma, J. (2014). Shall I reveal my feelings or not? Emotion regulation in daily interactions. Talk presented at the IACCP International Conference, Reims Champagne-Ardenne University, Reims, France, 18 July 2014.

Huwaë, S., & Schaafsma, J. (2013). Self-construal and responses to group-based and individual injustice. Poster presented at the IACCP Regional Conference, UCLA, Los Angeles, US, 22 June 2013.

TiCC PhD Series

1. Pashiera Barkhuysen. *Audiovisual Prosody in Interaction.* Promotores: M.G.J. Swerts, E.J. Krahmer. Tilburg, 3 October 2008.
2. Ben Torben-Nielsen. *Dendritic Morphology: Function Shapes Structure.* Promotores: H.J. van den Herik, E.O. Postma. Co-promotor: K.P. Tuyls. Tilburg, 3 December 2008.
3. Hans Stol. *A Framework for Evidence-based Policy Making Using IT.* Promotor: H.J. van den Herik. Tilburg, 21 January 2009.
4. Jeroen Geertzen. *Dialogue Act Recognition and Prediction.* Promotor: H. Bunt. Co-promotor: J.M.B. Terken. Tilburg, 11 February 2009.
5. Sander Canisius. *Structured Prediction for Natural Language Processing.* Promotores: A.P.J. van den Bosch, W. Daelemans. Tilburg, 13 February 2009.
6. Fritz Reul. *New Architectures in Computer Chess.* Promotor: H.J. van den Herik. Co-promotor: J.W.H.M. Uiterwijk. Tilburg, 17 June 2009.
7. Laurens van der Maaten. *Feature Extraction from Visual Data.* Promotores: E.O. Postma, H.J. van den Herik. Co-promotor: A.G. Lange. Tilburg, 23 June 2009 (cum laude).
8. Stephan Raaijmakers. *Multinomial Language Learning.* Promotores: W. Daelemans, A.P.J. van den Bosch. Tilburg, 1 December 2009.
9. Igor Berezhnoy. *Digital Analysis of Paintings.* Promotores: E.O. Postma, H.J. van den Herik. Tilburg, 7 December 2009.
10. Toine Bogers. *Recommender Systems for Social Bookmarking.* Promotor: A.P.J. van den Bosch. Tilburg, 8 December 2009.
11. Sander Bakkes. *Rapid Adaptation of Video Game AI.* Promotor: H.J. van den Herik. Co-promotor: P. Spronck. Tilburg, 3 March 2010.
12. Maria Mos. *Complex Lexical Items.* Promotor: A.P.J. van den Bosch. Co-promotores: A. Vermeer, A. Backus. Tilburg, 12 May 2010 (in collaboration with the Department of Language and Culture Studies).
13. Marieke van Erp. *Accessing Natural History. Discoveries in data cleaning, structuring, and retrieval.* Promotor: A.P.J. van den Bosch. Co-promotor: P.K. Lendvai. Tilburg, 30 June 2010.
14. Edwin Commandeur. *Implicit Causality and Implicit Consequentiality in Language Comprehension*. Promotores: L.G.M. Noordman, W. Vonk. Co-promotor: R. Cozijn. Tilburg, 30 June 2010.
15. Bart Bogaert. *Cloud Content Contention*. Promotores: H.J. van den Herik, E.O. Postma. Tilburg, 30 March 2011.
16. Xiaoyu Mao. *Airport under Control.* Promotores: H.J. van den Herik, E.O. Postma. Co-promotores: N. Roos, A. Salden. Tilburg, 25 May 2011.

17. Olga Petukhova. *Multidimensional Dialogue Modelling*. Promotor: H. Bunt. Tilburg, 1 September 2011.
18. Lisette Mol. *Language in the Hands.* Promotores: E.J. Krahmer, A.A. Maes, M.G.J. Swerts. Tilburg, 7 November 2011 (cum laude).
19. Herman Stehouwer. *Statistical Language Models for Alternative Sequence Selection*. Promotores: A.P.J. van den Bosch, H.J. van den Herik. Co-promotor: M.M. van Zaanen. Tilburg, 7 December 2011.
20. Terry Kakeeto-Aelen. *Relationship Marketing for SMEs in Uganda*. Promotores: J. Chr. van Dalen, H.J. van den Herik. Co-promotor: B.A. Van de Walle. Tilburg, 1 February 2012.
21. Suleman Shahid. *Fun & Face: Exploring non-verbal expressions of emotion during playful interactions*. Promotores: E.J. Krahmer, M.G.J. Swerts. Tilburg, 25 May 2012.
22. Thijs Vis. *Intelligence, Politie en Veiligheidsdienst: Verenigbare Grootheden?* Promotores: T.A. de Roos, H.J. van den Herik, A.C.M. Spapens. Tilburg, 6 June 2012 (in collaboration with the Tilburg School of Law).
23. Nancy Pascall. *Engendering Technology Empowering Women.* Promotores: H.J. van den Herik, M. Diocaretz. Tilburg, 19 November 2012.
24. Agus Gunawan. *Information Access for SMEs in Indonesia*. Promotor: H.J. van den Herik. Co-promotores: M. Wahdan, B.A. Van de Walle. Tilburg, 19 December 2012.
25. Giel van Lankveld. *Quantifying Individual Player Differences.* Promotores: H.J. van den Herik, A.R. Arntz. Co-promotor: P. Spronck. Tilburg, 27 February 2013.
26. Sander Wubben. *Text-to-text Generation Using Monolingual Machine Translation.* Promotores: E.J. Krahmer, A.P.J. van den Bosch, H. Bunt. Tilburg, 5 June 2013.
27. Jeroen Janssens. *Outlier Selection and One-Class Classification*. Promotores: E.O. Postma, H.J. van den Herik. Tilburg, 11 June 2013.
28. Martijn Balsters. *Expression and Perception of Emotions: The Case of Depression, Sadness and Fear*. Promotores: E.J. Krahmer, M.G.J. Swerts, A.J.J.M. Vingerhoets. Tilburg, 25 June 2013.
29. Lisanne van Weelden. *Metaphor in Good Shape.* Promotor: A.A. Maes. Co-promotor: J. Schilperoord. Tilburg, 28 June 2013.
30. Ruud Koolen. *"Need I say More? On Overspecification in Definite Reference."* Promotores: E.J. Krahmer, M.G.J. Swerts. Tilburg, 20 September 2013.
31. J. Douglas Mastin. *Exploring Infant Engagement. Language Socialization and Vocabulary. Development: A Study of Rural and Urban Communities in*

Mozambique. Promotor: A.A. Maes. Co-promotor: P.A. Vogt. Tilburg, 11 October 2013.

32. Philip C. Jackson. Jr. *Toward Human-Level Artificial Intelligence – Representation and Computation of Meaning in Natural Language.* Promotores: H.C. Bunt, W.P.M. Daelemans. Tilburg, 22 April 2014.
33. Jorrig Vogels. *Referential choices in language production: The Role of Accessibility.* Promotores: A.A. Maes, E.J. Krahmer. Tilburg, 23 April 2014.
34. Peter de Kock. *Anticipating Criminal Behaviour.* Promotores: H.J. van den Herik, J.C. Scholtes. Co-promotor: P. Spronck. Tilburg, 10 September 2014.
35. Constantijn Kaland. *Prosodic marking of semantic contrasts: do speakers adapt to addressees?* Promotores: M.G.J. Swerts, E.J. Krahmer. Tilburg, 1 October 2014.
36. Jasmina Marić. *Web Communities, Immigration and Social Capital.* Promotor: H.J. van den Herik. Co-promotores: R. Cozijn, M. Spotti. Tilburg, 18 November 2014.
37. Pauline Meesters. *Intelligent Blauw*. Promotores: H.J. van den Herik, T.A. de Roos. Tilburg, 1 December 2014.
38. Mandy Visser. *Better use your head. How people learn to signal emotions in social contexts.* Promotores: M.G.J. Swerts, E.J. Krahmer. Tilburg, 10 June 2015.
39. *Sterling Hutchinson. How symbolic and embodied representations work in concert. Promotores: M.M. Louwerse, E.O. Postma. Tilburg, 30 June 2015.*
40. Marieke Hoetjes. *Talking hands. Reference in speech, gesture and sign.* Promotores: E.J. Krahmer, M.G.J. Swerts. Tilburg, 7 October 2015.
41. Elisabeth Lubinga. *Stop HIV. Start talking? The effects of rhetorical figures in health messages on conversations among South African adolescents*. Promotores: A.A. Maes, C.J.M. Jansen. Tilburg, 16 October 2015.
42. Janet Bagorogoza. *Knowledge Management and High Performance. The Uganda Financial Institutions Models for HPO.* Promotores: H.J. van den Herik, B. van der Walle, Tilburg, 24 November 2015.
43. Hans Westerbeek. *Visual realism: Exploring effects on memory, language production, comprehension, and preference.* Promotores: A.A. Maes, M.G.J. Swerts. Co-promotor: M.A.A. van Amelsvoort. Tilburg, 10 Februari 2016.
44. Matje van de Camp. *A link to the Past: Constructing Historical Social Networks from Unstructured Data.* Promotores: A.P.J. van den Bosch, E.O. Postma. Tilburg, 2 Maart 2016.

45. Annemarie Quispel. *Data for all: Data for all: How professionals and non-professionals in design use and evaluate information visualizations.* Promotor: A.A. Maes. Co-promotor: J. Schilperoord. Tilburg, 15 Juni 2016.
46. Rick Tillman. *Language Matters: The Influence of Language and Language Use on Cognition.* Promotores: M.M. Louwerse, E.O. Postma. Tilburg, 30 Juni 2016.
47. Ruud Mattheij. *The Eyes Have It*. Promoteres: E.O. Postma, H. J. Van den Herik, and P.H.M. Spronck. Tilburg, 5 October 2016.
48. Marten Pijl, *Tracking of human motion over time.* Promotores: E. H. L. Aarts, M. M. Louwerse. Co-promotor: J.H.M. Korst. Tilburg, 14 December 2016.
49. Yevgen Matusevych, *Learning constructions from bilingual exposure: Computational studies of argument structure acquisition.* Promotor: A.M. Backus. Co-promotor: A.Alishahi. Tilburg, 19 December 2016.
50. Karin van Nispen. *What can people with aphasia communicate with their hands?A study of representation techniques in pantomime and co-speech gesture*. Promotor: E.J. Krahmer. Co-promotor: M. van de Sandt-Koenderman. Tilburg, 19 December 2016.
51. Adriana Baltaretu. *Speaking of landmarks. How visual information influences reference in spatial domains.* Promotores: A.A. Maes and E.J. Krahmer. Tilburg, 22 December 2016.
52. Mohamed Abbadi. *Casanova 2, a domain specific language for general game development.* Promotores: A.A. Maes, P.H.M. Spronck and A. Cortesi. Co-promotor: G. Maggiore. Tilburg, 10 March 2017. Promotores: A.A. Maes, P.H.M. Spronck and A. Cortesi. Co-promotor: G. Maggiore. Tilburg, 10 March 2017.
53. Shoshannah Tekofsky. *You Are Who You Play You Are*. *Modelling Player Traits from Video Game Behavior.* Promotores: E.O. Postma and P.H.M. Spronck. Tilburg, 19 Juni 2017.
54. Adel Alhuraibi, *From IT-Business Strategic Alignment to Performance: A Moderated Mediation Model of Social Innovation, and Enterprise Governance of IT*. Promotores: H.J. van den Herik and Prof. dr. B.A. Van de Walle. Co-promotor: Dr. S. Ankolekar. Tilburg, 26 September 2017.
55. Wilma Latuny. *The Power of Facial Expressions*. Promotores: E.O. Postma and H.J. van den Herik. Tilburg, 29 September 2017.
56. Sylvia Huwaë*, Different Cultures, Different Selves? Suppression of Emotions and Reactions to Transgressions across Cultures*. Promotores: Prof. Dr. Emiel Krahmer and Prof. Dr. Juliette Schaafsma. Tilburg, October 11, 2017.